

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 236 919

FL 014 071

AUTHOR Gladney, Frank Y.
TITLE Handbook of Polish.
INSTITUTION Illinois Univ., Urbana.
SPONS AGENCY Bureau of Postsecondary Education (DHEW/OE),
Washington, D.C. Div. of International Education.
PUB DATE 83
CONTRACT OEC-0-72-2487
NOTE 165p.
AVAILABLE FROM G & G Press, 709 West Michigan, Urbana, IL 61801
(\$12.50).
PUB TYPE Guides - Classroom Use - Materials (For Learner)
(051)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Descriptive Linguistics; Graduate Study; *Grammar;
Higher Education; *Polish; Second Language
Instruction; Spelling; Uncommonly Taught Languages

ABSTRACT

This Polish grammar handbook is designed as a one-semester introductory text for graduate students in Slavic languages and literature. It serves as a descriptive grammar of such aspects as the meaningful units used by Polish speakers to communicate, rules of pronunciation, and standard spelling. Thirty-eight units and a Polish-English word index are included.
(RW)

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TITLE VI, Sec. 605, HEA
Contract No. OEC-0-72-2487

HANDBOOK OF POLISH

FRANK Y. GLADNEY

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G & G PRESS URBANA ILLINOIS 1983

ED236919

FL014071

Mamie

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Gladney, Frank Y., 1936—

Handbook of Polish.

Bibliography: pp. 139-40.

Includes index.

1. Polish language—Grammar—1950— . I. Title.

PG6112.G55 1983 491.8'582421 83-16405

ISBN 0-9612196-0-2

Set up and printed at

G & G Press, 709 West Michigan, Urbana, IL 61801
whence available. Price: \$12.50.

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Preface

THIS BOOK is intended as a one-semester introduction to Polish grammar for graduate students in Slavic languages and literatures. The presentation is justified not so much by how well it prepares them for the task of reading Polish texts the second semester (it is possible they would get just as far in their year of Polish if they just started reading with the aid of a dictionary) as by the title of the course (Structure of Polish) and the fact that it carries graduate credit, unlike our four-semester undergraduate Polish sequence (for which this book is unsuitable).

This is a descriptive grammar: it tries to describe, among other things, the meaningful units which Polish speakers use in communicating with one another. These units take on different shapes in different contexts—so much so that it is hard to be sure when we are dealing with the same unit, which has merely been altered by the rules of pronunciation, and when we are dealing with two different, synonymous units. For example: the stem of the word for “government” is now “żond,” now “żont”; that for “cut” is now “tn,” now “ćo”; that for “go” is now “idź,” now “szet.” It is easy to see that “żont” is just “żond” which has been altered by a devoicing rule; the spelling is *rząd* after all. It is less obvious that “tn” and “ćo” are two pronunciations of the same unit, just as “idź” and “szet” certainly don’t appear to be. The decision to consider “cut” one unit but “go” two may seem arbitrary, as also the choice of an underlying representation for “cut”: *tɨn*. These are matters of judgment on which linguists may differ. But one matter NOT subject to different

interpretations is standard spelling. The reader will note that standard spellings in this book are printed in boldface, thus **tnę** and **ciał** for the forms of "cut." A word index has been provided, primarily to assist the reader in matching abstract representations in the exercises with standard spellings.

I started writing a Polish grammar in summer 1961, when as a National Defense Education Act fellow preparing for a year in Poland I typed out a series of lessons for my wife. Since 1963 I have been cranking out materials for students at the University of Illinois, and in 1972-73 I was P. I. for contract No. OEC-0-72-2487 between the University and the Office of Education. I wish to thank Mrs. Julia A. Petrov for her patient support, and I'm sorry other duties prevented me from bringing the work to completion at that time and from fully utilizing the good work of Stanton M. Felton and David Perlman. In the early stages of production I had the benefit of comments and corrections on the early portions of the book from Wayles Browne, Robert A. Rothstein, and Zuzanna Topolińska, and this would have been a better book if I had managed to show them more of it. Thanks are due also to Glenn W. Schmidt, formerly assistant superintendent of the University of Illinois printing plant, my Monotype mentor. I dedicate the book to my first Polish teacher, Dr. Janina Czarkowska-Gladney.

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HANDBOOK
OF POLISH

POLISH is the language of Poland, a country of some 36 million inhabitants located in eastern Europe with the Baltic Sea to the north, Germany to the west, Czechoslovakia to the south, and the Soviet Union to the east. It is known also to many of the 10 million Poles living abroad, chiefly in North America. As a member of the Slavic branch of Indo-European languages, it shares many inherited features with Czech, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, and the others. As a vehicle of European civilization since the 16th century, it has come to share vocabulary and grammar with the other modern European languages. Polish comprises a number of regional dialects, but the language described in this book is standard Polish, not identified with any one region, which is spoken by educated Poles and taught in the schools.

1.1 The vowels include these six (with approximate English equivalents):

i (machine)	u (rule)
y (hymn)	
e (bed)	o (ought)
a (father)	

1.2 The consonants include these stops:

labial	dental	velar
p	t	k
b	d	g
m	n	

Stops in Polish are unaspirated, i.e., produced without the puff of air heard in English in *pat*, *toot*, etc. The dentals are

articulated with the tongue against the back of the teeth, not against the alveolar ridge as in English.

Exercise. 1. ta-ta-ma-pta-ka 2. ta-kty-ka-a-ta-ku 3. po-e-ta-py-ta-o-*ɹ*-a-na 4. ka-my-kpa-da-mi-na-bu-ty 5. o-na-ku-pi-psa 6. do-da-no-ma-ku-do-kom-po-tu 7. kto-dba-o-ma-tke 8. po-da-te-gbe-zda-ty 9. po-ga-dan-ka-na-te-ma-tpo-go-dy 10. ba-da-go-den-ty-sta

1.3 The corresponding continuants are these:

labial	dental	velar
<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ch</i>
<i>w</i>	<i>z</i>	

w being the Polish spelling for *v*; *ch* is a voiceless velar fricative, as in *Bach* (German pronunciation).

Exercise. 1. me-go-sy-na-zna-pan 2. zba-da-no-stan-su-fi-tu 3. o-b-do-wa-be-to-no-wa 4. za-pa-ko-wa-no-go-do-sa-mo-cho-du 5. scho-wa-to-za-scho-dy 6. zby-wa-mu-zde-pta-ny-*ɹ*ut 7. zy-sko-wne-in-te-re-sy-fa-cho-we 8. po-zwa-no-go-do-po-ka-zu 9. stu-den-tu-fa-fi-zy-ko-wi 10. ma-mo-cho-te-na-wo-de

1.4 Other sonorants. **J** is pronounced like *y* in *yes* and *boy*. **R** is trilled with the tip of the tongue against the alveolar ridge. Barred (or hard) *ł* is phonetically not an *l*; it is a nonsyllabic *u*, like the *w* in *wick* and *cow* (these two words sound not unlike *łyk* and *kał*).

Exercise. 1. je-cha-łam-do-kra-ko-wa 2. jan-ka-ja-dła-ja-pko 3. pro-sta-ru-ra-*y*-no-wa 4. ła-ska-we-da-mył-ka-ły 5. młody-włoch-cho-ro-wał 6. ra-chu-je-wo-ły 7. ro-zu-mro-zwi-ja-po-ma-łu 8. ply-ne-łyl-zy 9. słu-cha-ły-zwy-so-ka 10. wła-dy-sła-wał-ka-ła-gdy-łotr-łgał

1.51 The sound *ɹ* occurring in words of non-Slavic origin is spelled *u*: **auto**, **pauza**, **Europa**, **pseudo**, which are pronounced as if spelled "ał-to," "pał-za," "eł-ro-pa," "pseł-do."

1.511 Where it is desirable to indicate the pronunciation of a word more exactly, it will be respelled using Polish graphic conventions, e.g., **w rządzie** pronounced "wżoń-dże" (for the phonetic value of these letters, see below). Quotation marks will be used to warn the reader that these phonetic respellings depart from standard Polish spelling and are to be sedulously avoided when writing Polish.*

1.52 **Ó** (called "o-kre-sko-wa-ne") is pronounced the same as **u**; **góra** "gu-ra," **półka** "puł-ka," **spróbujemy** "sprubuje-my."

1.53 In words of non-Polish origin the voiceless velar fricative is often spelled **h**: **haki** "cha-ki," **humor** "chu-mor," **harpunem** "char-pu-nem," **wataha** "wa-ta-cha."

Exercise. 1. heł-my-nur-ko-we 2. au-to-rar-ty-ku-łu-o-au-tach 3. spró-bu-je-wó-tki 4. hau-sta-tra-men-tu-za-truł-go 5. au-tem-na-bał-tyk 6. pseu-do-na-u-ko-wa-au-to-dy-da-kty-ka 7. hu-ra-gan-wau-dy-to-ri-um 8. ma-my-ós-me-go-ma-ja

2.1 Sentences in Polish tend to be spoken in open syllables, i.e., syllables ending in a vowel. Thus **Brak nowych opon** (There are no new tires) is pronounced more or less "bra-kno-wy-cho-pon." In fluent speech there is not a clear contrast between **nowych orał** and **nowy chorał** such as is heard in English between *Bruce Eider* and *brew cider*.

2.2 Some syllables are spoken with greater prominence than others. For example, **Brak nowego dokładnego rozkładu** (He doesn't have the exact schedule) is said "bra-kmu-do-kła-dne-go-ro-skła-du" The rules for which syllable to accent are these:

A. Except for a small class of words called clitics (see 27.3) each word has an accent;

*IPA transcriptions will not be used in this book because (a) with one or two minor exceptions the Polish graphic system is fully adequate for representing Polish sounds and (b) in some cases IPA graphic conventions may be confusing for students of Polish, e.g., **chowała** pronounced [xovawa].

B. In words of more than one syllable the accent falls on the next-to-last syllable. (See 16.2 for some exceptions.) Thus in the above sentence the accented syllables are the only syllable in the first word and the next-to-last syllable in the third and fourth words; **mu** is a clitic.

2.21 Syllable accent is weaker than in English (or Russian) and does not condition any quantitative or qualitative reduction in unaccented syllables. Speakers of English should be careful to pronounce all vowels distinctly; e.g., **podalem** is "po-da-lem" with three distinct, nonreduced vowels. Pronunciations like "puh-DA-l'm" should be avoided.

2.22 Words longer than three syllables have secondary accent on the initial syllable. Therefore the word **kołowaty** (circular) hardly differs in accentuation from the phrase **koło waty** (near the cotton).

Exercise. Say the following sentences, accenting the words (indicated by spaces) on the next-to-last syllable. 1. bu-du-je-my no-wy dom 2. no-gi sto-lu i c-wy-la-my-wa-no 3. o-kro-pne klo-po-ty spo-wo-do-wa-ne by-ly pe-chem 4. go-spo-da-ru-je-my spra-wa-mi do-mo-wy-mi 5. sto-so-wa-no wy-jon-tko-wo wy-ra-fi-no-wa-ne me-to-dy

2.3 Word-final devoicing. At the end of a word obstruents are pronounced voiceless. The obstruents considered so far are these:

voiced:	b	w	d	z	g	
voiceless:	p	f	t	s	k	ch

Thus in **wóz Adama** the **z** is pronounced "s": "wu-sa-da-ma"; **mózg ryby** is "mu-skry-by."

2.31 Words as a rule are indicated by spaces, but two exceptions should be mentioned. Prepositions do not behave like words with respect to word-final devoicing, although they are written separate: **bez nogi** (without a leg) is "be-zno-gi," not "be-sno-gi," and **pod oknem** (under the window) is "po-do-knem," not "po-to-knem." On the other hand, verbs

with plural imperative suffixes are written as words (and accordingly are accented on the syllable before the suffix), but with regard to word-final devoicing they show a word boundary before the suffix: **zostawmy** (let's leave it) is pronounced "zo-sta-fmy" (at least in Warsaw; 2.6).

Exercise. 1. **samochód** 2. **zostaw** 3. **wizg okropny** 4. **ryb mało** 5. **sporo stogów** 6. **pojazd nowy** 7. **brak izb** 8. **starych prawd** 9. **bez atramentu** 10. **wypadło z ust ładnych** (z is a preposition)

2.4 Voicing assimilation. An obstruent occurring directly before another obstruent assimilates to it with regard to voicing; **z** before voiceless **p** is pronounced "s," **k** before voiced **d** is pronounced "g," **st** before voiced **b** is pronounced "zd," and so on

Exercise. 1. **zabawka** 2. **z tego** 3. **rozchody** 4. **odsetki** 5. **zsyp** 6. **tchu** 7. **jakby** 8. **babka** 9. **zagadka** 10. **zharowany** (see 1.53)

2.5 In fluent speech, where words are not separated by pauses, voicing assimilation occurs between words. Thus **Tu jest Barbara** (Here is Barbara) might be said "tu-je-zdbar-ba-ra."

Exercise. 1. **brat Barbary** 2. **tu jest zabawka** 3. **tak zwany kurs dobry** 4. **brak gazet domowych** 5. **rybka odpływa** 6. **jak z panem** 7. **jak z bratem** 8. **nos długi** 9. **pisk młodych psów** 10. **jak do tych jabłek dotarły**

2.51 The voiceless velar fricative also participates in voicing assimilation, e.g., in **Echden** and **tych dcmów**. Polish has no way of spelling a voiced velar fricative because **h** is only an alternate spelling for **ch**.

2.6 For voicing assimilation between words, speakers of the standard language in southern and western Poland (e.g., Cracow and Poznan) have a much more general rule. They assimilate final obstruents to the voicing of ANY voiced segment, including vowels and other sonorants. Thus, while all Polish speakers in fluent speech pronounce **nos Bobka** "no-

zbo-pka" and **wóz Tadka** "wu-sta-tka," where the second word begins with an obstruent, southern and western Polish speakers will voice-assimilate also in **wóz Adama**, **wóz mój**, **wóz nowy**, **wóz Romana**, **nos Janki**, and **nos ładny** (m, n, j, r, and l are sonorant consonants; cf. 2.3 for obstruent consonants). In Warsaw Polish "s" is heard in these six phrases.

Exercise. Apply Cracow/Poznan interword voicing rules to the phrases in the preceding two exercises.

2.7 W is exceptional: it undergoes voicing assimilation but does not cause it. For example, **wk** is pronounced "fk," but in **sw**, **tw**, **kw**, etc. the voicing difference is resolved in favor of the first consonant and **w** is devoiced to "f": **swój** "sfuj," **latwo** "la-tfo," **kwasu** "kfa-su," **chwala** "chfa-la."*

3.10 The Polish obstruents include a number of affricates, which are sounds combining the closure of a stop consonant with a sibilant release. They are formed with the blade of the tongue at various points in the mouth. The voiceless affricates are spelled with the letter **c**, alone or with a diacritic mark or silent letter. The corresponding voiced affricates have a digraphic representation, **d** for the closure and **z**, alone or with a diacritic, for the release.

3.11 Dental affricates. The voiceless dental affricate, spelled **c**, has a *t*-like closure and an *s*-like release. Its voiced counterpart has a *d*-like closure and a *z*-like release; it is spelled **dz**.

Exercise. Say the following, giving both Warsaw and Cracow pronunciations. 1. **wódz** 2. **zjedz** 3. **rydz** 4. **moc prawdy** 5. **owoc dobry** 6. **noc bez koca** 7. **tluc jajka** 8. **widz młody** 9. **bez scen** 10. **bez cła**

3.12 The dental affricates are phonetically distinct from combinations of **t+s** and **d+z**. In **ocena** (estimation) the first syllable is open, "o-ce-na," while in **odsetek** (percent)

*This devoicing rule does not apply in western Poland, e.g., Poznan.

the first syllable is closed: "ot-se-tek." Similarly, **nodze** (leg) "no-dze" offers a contrast with **odzew** (response) "od-zef." For this as well as for other reasons (9.51, 12.223), **c** and **dz** must be regarded as unit phonemes.

Exercise 1. **ocalał** 2. **odsapka** 3. **ocuca** 4. **odsuwa** 5. **ocyka** 6. **odsyła** 7. **odzyska** (od- is a prefix) 8. **sadza** 9. **dzwon** 10. **dzynдық**

3.13 This contrast is lost in position not before a vowel. For example, **brat** (brother) and **-stwo** (-hood) combine to form **bractwo**; **podzwrotnikowy** (subtropical) and **podzwonne** (knell) coincide in their initial portions, despite the fact that one is **pod-+zwrotnik-** and the other is **po-+dzwon-**.

3.20 Between the dental obstruents **t, d, s, z, c, dz** and the velar obstruents **k, g, ch** there are not one but two sets of sibilant consonants in Polish. One set is grammatically related to the velar consonants and is spelled by means of the silent letter **z**. The other set is related to **t, d, s,** and **z** and is spelled either with an acute accent or with the letter **i**. Both sets are commonly referred to as softened or palatalized. This is justified by the fact that the occurrence of both sets can be grammatically linked to the occurrence of vowels pronounced near the hard palate (**i, e,** etc.). But only one set, that related to the dentals and spelled with acute accent or with **i**, is **PHONETICALLY** soft, i.e., pronounced with the body of the tongue high and forward, as for **i**. The set spelled with silent **z** (sometimes called "historically soft" or "expalatal") is pronounced with the blade of the tongue at the alveolar ridge while the body of the tongue is lower and more retracted, as for **ɣ**.

3.21 Alveolar sibilants. There are four alveolar sibilants, a voiced and voiceless fricative and a voice and voiceless affricate. The voiceless fricative is spelled by means of **s** plus silent **z**, e.g., **Szekspir, Szopen** (alternate spellings for **Shakespeare** and **Chopin**). Silent **z** in Polish thus has the same function as silent **h** in English. The voiceless affricate is spelled

by means of **c** plus silent **z**, e.g., **Czechosłowacja** (Czechoslovakia). For the voiced fricative and affricate Polish spelling does not follow **z** and **zd** with silent **z** but uses instead a raised dot: **żandarm** (gendarme), **żargon** (jargon), **dżem** (jam), **dżokej** (jockey).

3.22 The affricates **cz** and **dż** are, like **c** and **dz**, unit phonemes which differ from the clusters **t+sz** and **d+ż**. Thus **oczepu** (lintel) "o-cze-pu" contrasts with **od szeptu** (from a whisper) "ot-sze-ptu," and **o dżetowych** (concerning jet ...) "o-dże-to-wych" contrasts with **odżęgnuje** (deprecates) "od-że-gnu-je."

3.23 As with dental affricates, the contrast between alveolar affricates and the cognate stop-sibilant clusters is subject to neutralization in position not before a vowel. **T** plus "sz" (spelled **rz**; see 4.2) at the end of a word is pronounced "cz," e.g., **popatrz** (look) "po-pacz," and **d** plus "ż" before **w** in **drzwi** (door) is pronounced "dż."

Exercise. 1. **czuwa** 2. **dżuma** 3. **dżyn** 4. **czyn** 5. **gwizdż**
6. **tyłomóżdże** 7. **róždżek** 8. **róždżka** 9. **deszcz długi** 10.
ucz brata 11. **krucza** 12. **krótsza** 13. **wieczny** 14. **wietrzny**

3.24 The voiced alveolar affricate **dż** occurs mainly in words of foreign origin, e.g., **dżudo** (judo), **radża** (rajah). In native Polish words it is found only after **ż**, e.g., **gwizdże** (whistles), **drożdże** (yeast). The reason for this is given in 10.4.

3.3 Soft dentals. The other set of sibilants also includes a voiceless and a voiced continuant and a voiceless and a voiced affricate. These, when not followed by a vowel, are spelled **ś**, **ź**, **ć**, and **dź** respectively. Both **ś** and **sz** correspond to *sh* in English; thus **Staś** (Stan) is borrowed as *Stash* (or *Stosh*) and **Szepski** is borrowed as *Shepsky* (a possible Anglicized spelling). But in Polish the sibilant (or shibilant) quality of the two sounds is quite different. For **ś** it is caused by the greater area of constriction between the tongue and the roof of the mouth compared with **s**. To pronounce **ś** a constriction is formed in the dental region with the blade of the tongue, as for **s**, and in addition the body of the tongue

is strongly raised toward the hard palate, forming a constriction which extends from the dental region as far as the hard palate. (For this reason some authorities classify *ś*, *ź*, etc. as palatal sounds.)

3.31 A comparison with Russian may be useful. Both Polish and Russian palatalized *s* involve simultaneous articulation with the blade of the tongue in the dental region and the body of the tongue near the hard palate. In Russian the palatal articulation has a degree of constriction roughly equal to a glide (*j*), and it merely superimposes an *i* quality on what remains basically a sound of the *s* type. In Polish the palatal articulation is stronger, having a degree of constriction roughly that of the German *ich-Laut*. The resulting sound cannot be regarded as a slightly modified *s* because the dental and palatal articulations play an equal role and connect into a single extended constriction.

3.32 *Sz* on the other hand, being alveolar rather than dental, is formed with a constriction located farther back than the constriction for *s*, although not so far back as the farthest extent of the constriction for *ś*. It is formed with the blade of the tongue, while the body of the tongue is held low in the mouth. The lower tongue position creates a larger resonator behind the point of constriction and accounts for the characteristic deeper hushing sound of *sz*. This is often reinforced by a rounding and protruding of the lips. The same is true also of the other alveolar sibilants.

Exercise. 1. *szef* 2. "śef" 3. *poszedłem* 4. "po-śe-dem"
5. *Staś* 6. *staż* 7. *dała mu szalaś* 8. *dawno* "mu-śa-łaś"
9. "po-że" 10. "po-że" 11. "bu-ża" 12. "bu-ża" 13. *lecz*
14. *leć* 15. *czap* 16. "ćap" 17. *i dżemy* 18. "i-dże-my"
19. *szczeka* 20. "śće-ka" 21. "je-żdżonc" 22. "żdżo-nem"

3.33 The soft dental affricates *ć* and *dź* are unit phonemes, distinct from the clusters *t+ś* and *d+ź*. Thus "o-će-bie"* (about you) contrasts with "ot-śe-bie" (from oneself), and "o-dźo-bach" (concerning beaks) contrasts with "od-żom-ka" (from the compatriot).

*Soft labials are discussed in 11.4. For the present, syllables like *-bie* can be pronounced as spelled: "b" plus (nonsyllabic) "i" plus "e."

Exercise. 1. "o-śa-stkach" 2. "ot-śa-tek" 3. "o-śe-ra" 4. "ot-śe-wa" 5. "o-śot-ce" 6. "ot-śo-stry" 7. "o-dźi-ku" 8. "od-źi-my" 9. "o-dźur-ce" 10. "od-źul-ka" 11. "o-ćfiart-ce" 12. "ot-śfia-tła" 13. "pod-źe-mie" 14. "po-dźe-lić"

3.331 Polish *ć* and *dź* may be usefully compared with palatalized *t* and *d* in Russian (even though to Russian ears *ć* is closer to *ч*, which unlike Polish *cz* is soft). Both *ć* and Russian palatalized *t* can be described in terms of a primary *t*-articulation and a simultaneous *j*-like articulation. In Russian the palatal coarticulation superimposes a *i* quality without radically altering the abrupt, plosive character of the palatalized *t*. In Polish the palatal constriction is stronger, equal in degree to that of a fricative consonant. This constriction alters the release of the closure from abrupt to *ś*-like, making the sound an affricate.

3.341 The contrast in pronunciation between the soft dentals and the alveolars helps explain the distribution of the high front vowels *i* and *y*. The alveolars, which are phonetically hard, i.e., pronounced with the body of the tongue away from *i* position, cannot be followed by *i*, only by *y*. In terms of spelling, *i* never occurs after silent *z* or after *ż*. The soft dentals, which are pronounced with the body of the tongue in *i* position (and higher), cannot be followed by *y*, only by *i*. Thus Polish has words like "kszy-czy" and "ći-śi"; but the reverse combinations, "kszi-czi" and "ćy-śy," do not occur.

3.342 The dental obstruents are also hard and therefore followed by *y* rather than *i*: *ty*, *dy*, *sy*, *zy*, *cy*, *dzy*.^{*} The only exceptions are words of foreign origin, e.g., Tintoretto "tin-to-ret-to," sinus (sine) "si-nus," dinosaur "di-no-saur," and cases where a prefix ending in a dental occurs with a root beginning with *i*, e.g., odimienny (denominal) "o-di-mien-ny," zirytować (irritate) "zi-ry-to-wać"; see also 16.3.

3.35 The spelling of soft dentals. When *ś*, *ź*, etc. are followed by *i*, the acute accent is not written; "śi," "źi," "ći,"

^{*}For the reason why *i* does not occur after *t*, *d*, *s*, *z*, *c*, and *dz*, see 9.4.

"dźi" are spelled simply **si**, **zi**, **ci**, **dzi**.^{*} When **ś**, **ź**, etc. are followed by a vowel other than **i**, softness is indicated by means of silent **i**. Thus,

	"śa"	"że"	"ćo"	"dzu"	etc.
are spelled	sia	zie	cio	dziu	

3.36 Soft n. Hard dental **n** has a softened counterpart formed with the blade of the tongue while the body of the tongue is raised to *j* position (cf. 3.3). When not followed by a vowel it is spelled **ń**. As with other soft dentals, "**ni**" is spelled simply **ni**, whereas "**ña**," "**ñe**," "**ño**," etc. are spelled **nia**, **nie**, **nio**, etc.

Exercise. Pronounce the following and give the correct spelling. 1. "dżeći" 2. "dżećmi" 3. "ćoća maryśa" 4. "dźi-śaj" 5. "ojėec śedźi" 6. "chodźić" 7. "chodźmy" (see 2.31) 8. "taño" 9. "końec" 10. "ćeń"

4.11 Polish l is the light or clear *l* heard in *please* and *leave*, in contrast to the dark *l* heard in *hall* and *bulk*. It has an *i* coloring like the *l* in French and German (for *lampa* cf. *la lampe*, *die Lampe*). Before **i**, as in **list** (letter), it is noticeably softer, approaching the *j* coloring of Russian palatalized *l*. Inasmuch as "hard *l*" (**l**) is [ɫ] (see 1.4), **l** is strictly speaking the only *l* in Polish; therefore it is common in foreign borrowings, such as **logarytm** and **folklor**.†

4.12 In terms of Polish grammar **l** functions as the softened counterpart of **l**, similarly as **ś**, **ź**, **ć**, and **dź** function as the softened counterparts of **s**, **z**, **t**, and **d**. As is the case with **ś**, **ź**, etc., **l** is never followed by **y**, only by **i** (and **l** is never followed by **i**, only **y**). **Ł** and **l** are exceptional within

^{*}Because **i** normally does not follow the hard dentals, this spelling convention causes no difficulty. It is only in cases like **sinus** and **ziritowac** that for the correct pronunciation—"s" and "z" which may be slightly softened, but in any case not "ś" and "ź"—it is necessary to take into account the foreign origin of the word or its prefix-root structure.

†However, there are older borrowings which show **l**, e.g., **oltarz** (altar).

the Polish graphic system in that the basic or hard member of the pair is written with a diacritic (the bar), whereas the softened member is written with the unmodified letter. Thus, for example, while soft *ś* plus *a* is spelled *sia*, soft *l* plus *a* is written with neither silent *i* nor a diacritic, but simply *la*. Note also how these sounds pattern in clusters: we find *słał*, *zły* (hard + hard) and *śle*, *źli* (soft + soft); but soft + hard (e.g., “*śła*”) is not found, and hard + soft (e.g., “*s'la*”) occurs only at a prefix-root boundary and in foreign borrowings (cf. 3.342).

Exercise. 1. *luk* 2. *łuk* 3. *palto* 4. *pałka* 5. *paluszek* 6. *pałuba* 7. *laska* 8. *łaska* 9. *łoza* 10. *łoża*

4.13 *Ł* and *l* after a consonant at the end of a word or between two consonants is weakened and often dropped. When this happens voicing rules may apply (2.3–2.6). Thus *jabłko* (apple) is sometimes in deliberate pronunciation said approximately “*ja-bu-ko*”; more often *ł* is dropped and *b* assimilates to *k*: “*ja-ko*.”

Exercise. 1. *zamysł* 2. *myśl* 3. *zamióti* 4. *naumyślnie* (“*na-u-...*”) 5. *plci* 6. *zawiędłszy* 7. *odszedł* 8. *odparł* 9. *zna-aził* 10. *obiegł*

4.131 Where word-final devoicing is inapplicable, e.g., where the consonant preceding *ł* is a sonorant, the *ł* may not be lost entirely. Thus in *umarł* (he died) *ł* may remain partially audible.

4.2 “Soft *r*.” The “soft *r*” in Polish is *rz*, which is pronounced the same as *ż*; *morze* (sea) is “*mo-że*,” the same as *może* (is able). *Rz* is soft only in the grammatical sense: *rz* relates to *r* the same as *l* to *ł*, *ś* to *s*, *t* to *ć*, and so on. Phonetically *rz* is hard, i.e., pronounced with the blade of the tongue against the alveolar ridge and the body of the tongue lowered and retracted away from *i* position (see 3.20). As with the other alveolar consonants spelled with silent *z*, *rz* cannot be followed by *i*, only by *y*. The spelling *rz* with silent *z* is ambiguous only with regard to the few cases where *r* is actually followed by *z*, e.g., *marzła* (she froze) “*mar-z'la*.”

In the majority of cases **rz** is read “ż” (except of course when it is devoiced).*

4.21 Like **ż**, **rz** when devoiced is pronounced “sz”: **mórz** “musz,” **karzcie** “kasz-će.” **Rz** differs from **ż** in one respect: within a word it undergoes voicing assimilation but does not cause it. In **wierzchu** (peak) **rz** assimilates to **ch**, giving “wieszchu.” But in **krzyk** (shout) **rz** does not cause **k** to change to “g”; rather, **rz** assimilates to **k**, giving “kszyk.” The voicing of **rz** is thus parallel to that of **w** (2.7).

Exercise. 1. **rzecz** 2. **kurz** 3. **tchórz** 4. **wieprz** 5. **zmierzch**
spichrzowy 7. **nazajutrz** (see 3.23) 8. **mistrz** 9. **przykro** 10.
chrzan 11. **w teatrze** 12. **poprze** 13. **Grzegorz** 14. **brzuch**
 15. **krztusi** 16. **chrztu**

5.0 Nasal vowel's. The Polish alphabet includes two nasal vowel letters, **ą** and **ę**. In most instances they stand for a vowel sound followed by some nasal element. The vowel sound is always “o” in the case of **ą** and “e” in the case of **ę**. The nasal element varies depending on what follows.

5.1 When **ą** or **ę** is followed by **l** or **l**, the nasal element is zero; **dał** is pronounced “dol” and **dełi** “de-li.”

5.20 When **ą** or **ę** is followed by a noncontinuant consonant (a stop or an affricate), the nasal element is the corresponding nasal consonant:

5.21 Before labial stops the nasal element is “m”: **sęp** “semp,” **trąba** “trom-ba.”

5.22 Before dental and alveolar stops and affricates the nasal element is “n”: **rządu** “żon-du,” **rozdęty** “ro-zden-ty,” **reçe** “ren-ce,” **rządzenie** “żon-dze-ńe,” **zmęczone** “zmenczo-ne.”

5.23 Before the soft dental affricates **ć** and **dź** the nasal element is “ń”: **baǳ** “bońć,” **zajęci** “za-jeń-ći.”

*Even the name of the fictional character **Tarzan** is commonly pronounced “ta-żan.”

5.24 Before the velar stops **k** and **g** the nasal element is [ŋ], i.e., the *n* heard in *song* and *bank*; thus *męka* has a first syllable like that in *Menchen*, and *urągać* has a middle syllable like *wrong* (except for the *r* sound; 1.4).

Exercise. 1. zęby 2. rządzi 3. pęknięte 4. wziąć 5. pączek
6. wziąłem 7. wzięłam 8. chciałbym 9. pięć 10. gołąb 11. krępy
12. kąt 13. bąk 14. mężczy 15. wszędzie 16. księga
17. księdze 18. chorągwie 19. krzyknęli 20. rząd

5.3 When *ą* or *ę* is followed by a continuant, the nasal element is a glide. A nasal glide is a nonsyllabic nasal sound which is pronounced without the oral closure used for *m* and *n*. The nearest English equivalent can perhaps be heard in *own*; *own ski* accented on the first word comes close to rhyming with *wąski* (narrow). The *o* in *own ski*, like all long *e*'s in English, is followed by the glide [w]. The nasal resonance of *n* actually commences sooner than the tongue makes the required closure in the alveolar region, and as a result the glide is nasalized, [w̃], and to some extent the *o* as well, [ɔ̃]. So also in *wąski*, an *o* vowel is followed by a *w* glide, simultaneously with which (and even earlier) the velum is lowered and nasalization results. *Wąski* differs from *own ski* in that there is no complete *n* closure preceding the *s*, only nasalization. In like manner, the pronunciation of *męski* (masculine) can be approximated by pronouncing *men ski* with nasalization but without a closure for *n*. In position before a nasal glide in Polish, the vowel is also nasalized.*

Exercise. 1. wacha 2. książka 3. wawóz 4. ciąży 5. węże
6. cięższe 7. pawęza 8. peseta 9. gęsto 10. paś

5.4 The nasal glide [w̃] also occurs in words of non-Polish origin when a nasal consonant occurs before a fricative and by assimilation loses its complete closure. Thus *sensu* (sense), which in deliberate pronunciation is pronounced as spelled,

*Thus the respellings "wo[w̃]-ski" and "me[w̃]-ski" may be understood to imply also "wo[ɔ̃w̃]-ski" and "me[ɛ̃w̃]-ski."

"sen-su," in more fluent speech is pronounced "sɛ-su," i.e., "se[ɥ̃]-su." This applies to **m**, but only before labial fricatives. Thus **tramwaj** (streetcar) is optionally pronounced "tra[ɥ̃]-waj." But **Łomża** (city in NE Poland) and **damska** (lady's), where **m** is not followed by a labial fricative, are pronounced as spelled, "łom-ža," "dam-ska."

Exercise. 1. nonsens 2. alianse (see 16.3) 3. kunszt 4. czynsz 5. pensja (see 16.3) 6. kredens 7. amfibia (see 16.3) 8. rezonans 9. kwadrans 10. konflikt

5.5 Besides a back nasal glide [ɥ̃], Polish has a front nasal glide: [j̃]. It commonly occurs in place of **ń** in position before a fricative. In pronouncing **ń** the body of the tongue is in position for **j**, and when the closure made with the blade of the tongue is omitted (by assimilation to the following fricative, which also does not involve complete closure), what results is a nasalized **j**. For an approximation in English, *coin ski*, accented on the first word and pronounced without complete closure for the **n**, sounds not unlike **koński** (equine). The front nasal glide also occurs between the high front vowel **i** and a following fricative, e.g., in **insekt**, and often between the mid vowel **e** and a following soft dental fricative, e.g., in **sensie** "se[j̃]-še."

Exercise. 1. Słoński 2. duński 3. pański 4. wileński 5. Benedyktyńscy 6. chiński (cf. 21.36) 7. winszować 8. inspektor 9. dżinsy 10. fimfa

5.6 The front nasal glide [j̃] also occurs when **ą** or **ę** is followed by a soft dental fricative, e.g., in **wieźnia** (prisoner) "wie[j̃]-źńa" and **siąść** (sit down) "šo[j̃]ść." When **ą** or **ę** is not preceded by a soft consonant (and perhaps in more deliberate pronunciation) the back nasal glide is also heard before soft dental fricatives: **wąsik** (whisker) "wo[ɥ̃]-śik," **trząść** (shake) "tszo[j̃]ść" or "tszo[ɥ̃]ść," **gęsi** (geese) "ge[j̃]-śi" or "ge[ɥ̃]-śi."

5.7 When **ą** or **ę** occur in word-final position the nasal glide is always back: **tą** (that) "to[**ṽ**]," **idę** (I'm going) "i-de[**ṽ**]." Except in quite deliberate speech, **ę** loses its nasal element in word-final position: **piję** (I drink) "pi-je." It should be noted, however, that literate Poles are very much aware of the fact that "he drinks" is spelled **pije** while "I drink" is spelled **piję**. There being many gradations between fully nasalized "pi-j[**ṽ**]" and "pi-je," to pronounce word-final **ę** in deliberate speech with a slight suggestion of nasality is not considered bad style. On the other hand, to consistently pronounce "pi-j[**ṽ**]," "żo-n[**ṽ**]," "tro-ch[**ṽ**]," etc. is pedantic and best avoided. Word-final **ą** should not be denasalized: **piją** (they drink) "pi-jo[**ṽ**]."*†

Exercise. 1. **zaczę** 2. **pod setką** 3. **widzę** 4. **zaczną** 5. **zaczął** 6. **zaczęła** 7. **zaczątek** 8. **zaczęcie** 9. **nimfa** 10. **konsonans** 11. **pięść** 12. **mięsisty** 13. **kłęska** 14. **gąska** 15. **męczą** 16. **komfort** 17. **instynkt**

6.1 The Polish alphabet. Words are alphabetized in Polish according to the following order of letters:

a ą b c ć d e ę f g h i j k l ł m n

ń o ó p q r s ś t u v w x y z ż ź

The 26 letters of the Latin alphabet have been supplemented with nine accented letters: five with the acute accent (**ć, ń, ó, ś, ź**), two with the nasal hook (**ą, ę**), one with a raised dot (**ż**), and one with a bar (**ł**). Each accented letter follows the corresponding unaccented letter.

6.11 Names of letters. The vowel letters **a, ą, e, ę, i, o,** and **u** are referred to by the sounds they normally represent (for **ą** and **ę** see

*There is a tendency in modern spoken Polish to denasalize word-final **ą**, especially after **n**. Thus **krzykną** is sometimes pronounced "kszykno[**w**]," the same as **krzyknął** (5.1).

†Pronouncing "m" in place of word-final [ṽ], e.g., "pi-jom" for "pi-jo[ṽ]," is a feature of uneducated speech in western Poland and should be avoided.

5.3). The names of **b**, **c**, **ć**, **d**, **g**, **p**, and **t** end in "e"; those of **f**, **l**, **ł**, **m**, **n**, **ń**, **r**, **s**, and **ś** begin with "e"; those of **h** and **k** end in "a"; those of **q** and **w** end in "u"; **z**, **ż**, and **ź** have names ending in "et"; **j** is "jot"; **x** is "iks"; **v** is "fał" **y** is **igrek** (or **ipsylon**). The accented letters are sometimes named descriptively, using **ogonek** for the nasal hook, **kreśka** for the acute accent, **kropka** for the dot, and **twarde** (hard) for **ł**. For **u** one sometimes says **u otwarte** (open [i.e., at the top]) to distinguish it from **o kreskowane** (ó).

6.12 Spelling it out, as when giving one's name to a clerk, is usually unnecessary in Polish. The spelling of **Wawrzyniec Wyczółkowski** or **Elżbieta Prokopczyk-Brzezińska** is obvious. The main spelling uncertainties are **u** or **ó**, **ch** or **h**, **ż** or **rz**, and **ą/ę** or **o/e** plus **m/n**. Thus a Ms. **Ihnatowicz** may need to add "pszes cha" and a Mr. **Demboski** "pszez e em" and "bez wu" (see 11.32, last sentence).

Exercise. Recite the alphabet. Spell out the above names.

6.2 **Graphics and spelling.** Polish makes somewhat different use of the Latin alphabet than English. The *v*-sound being spelled **w**, the letter **v** is limited to a few latinisms like **vice versa** and **verte** (over). Since "hard *c*" is spelled **k**, as in **kafeteria**, **koktajl**, and **Kuba**, spellings like **cracoviana** are rare (for "soft *c*," as in **centrum** and **centymetr**, see 3.11). "Hard *g*" is **g**, as in **golf**, **gramatyka**, and **geologia**; Eng. "soft *g*" is **dż**, as in **dżentelmen**. Both languages have "hard *ch*" (*Christ* is **Chrystus**, *chorale*, **chorał**) although Polish **ch** is a fricative, not a stop; Eng. "soft *ch*" is **cz** (*chocolate* is **czekolada**). The letter **j** always has the *y*-sound (1.4), so that Eng. *jockey*, *jazz*, and *jeans* are **dżokej**, **dżez**, and **dżinsy**. The letter **q** as in **quasi**- is rare, **kw** being used instead: **kwantum**, **kworum**. The letter **x** is used mostly for "unknown quantity" and for referring to X rays; the two consonants which it represents are spelled out: **eksport**, **egzotykc**. All 26 letters are available for standard spellings like **Carter**, **Chicago**, **Georgia**, **Jackson**, **Nixon**, and **Quebec**. But many foreign names like foreign borrowings generally have Polish spellings: **Kolorado**, **Kwintylian**, **Wenezuela**, **Teksas**, **Dżakarta**, **Czajkowski**.

Exercise. Pronounce and give English counterparts. 1. **jo-ga** 2. **dżudo** 3. **jacht** 4. **dżersej** 5. **Jajta** 6. **egzystencjalizm**

7. Don Kichot 8. Wesuwiusz 9. Kac 10. Szwarcwald 11. Michail Szolochow 12. Mikołaj Kopernik 13. dyskwalifikacja 14. Czang Kaj-szek 15. Waszyngton

7.1 A common type of sentence for identifying persons and things consists of a pronoun subject **to**, a copula, and a predicate noun, e.g., **To jest ołówek** (This is a pencil), **To jest miasto** (This is the city), **To jest nauczyciel** (This is the teacher; "na-u-czy-ćel"), **To są drzwi** (This is the door). The copula is **jest** with a singular noun and **są** with a plural noun. Polish has no article; the above sentences can be translated with *the* or with *a* depending on the situation.

7.2 Most nouns in Polish have both singular and plural forms. Some, like **drzwi**, have only plural forms, even when they refer to a single object. Other plural-only nouns are **okulary** (glasses), **skrzypce** (violin), **pieniądze** (money), and **usta** (mouth).

Exercise. Form identifying sentences using these nouns.

1. **krzesło** 2. **książka** (book) 3. **drzwi** 4. **miasto** 5. **nauczyciel** 6. **okno** (window) 7. **okulary** 8. **ołówek** 9. **pieniądze** 10. **pióro** (pen) 11. **samochód** (automobile) 12. **stół** (table) 13. **skrzypce** 14. **tablica** (blackboard) 15. **koszula** (shirt)

7.3 **Czy** introduces a yes-or-no question: **Czy to jest okno?** It is used in indirect questions, e.g., **Nie wiem** ("I don't know"; see 7.4), **czy to jest okno** (I don't know ...), where it corresponds to *whether* (or *if*). Questions with **czy** can occur in sequence: **Czy to jest ołówek, czy to jest pióro?** And the second question may be reduced: **Czy to jest krzesło, czy stół?** in which case **czy** corresponds to *or*; cf. also **Tak czy nie?** (Yes or no?).

7.4 The first question above can be answered **Tak**, **to jest okno** or **Nie, to nie jest okno**, where **jest** can be omitted. (**Nie jest** is pronounced "ńe-jest" because **nie** and a following verb are always accentually one word; see 2.2.)

Exercise. For all of the above nouns, the question "Is this a (or the) ...?" is to be answered "Yes, it's a ..." or "No, it's not a ...; it's a"

7.5 Questions in Polish are also formed with interrogative pronouns and adverbs: **Kto to jest?** (Who is that?), **Co to jest?** (What is this?), **Gdzie są drzwi?** (Where's the door?), **Dlaczego on tu?** (Why's he here?), **Jak to jest?** (How's that).

6.1 To express "This is my X," the form of the pronoun "my" is adapted to the noun for "X." This adaptation, called grammatical agreement, is reflected as different endings added to a common stem. Thus one says **To jest mój samochód** but **To jest moje krzesło** and **To jest moja książka**. The feature for which the pronoun agrees with the noun here is gender. While nouns in Polish have inherent gender (see §9), adjectives and most pronouns are inflected for gender, i.e., they change their form to show agreement with some noun in the sentence. This occurs not only within a noun phrase, as above, but also between subject and predicate: **Samochód jest mój, Krzesło jest moje, Książka jest moja**.

8.2 Pronouns include the demonstrative pronoun **ten** and the possessive pronouns **mój**, **twój** (your [sg.]), **nasz** (our), **wasz** (your [pl.]), and **swój** (one's own, pertaining to the subject of the clause).^{*} In speaking of "the pronoun **mój**," we use the nominative singular masculine form in order to refer to the entire paradigm of forms. The nom. sg. masc. form has an ending which is phonetically zero and a stem which in some cases has a slightly different shape. The nom. sg. feminine ending is **-a**. The nom. sg. neuter ending is **-o** after basic stem-final consonants and **-e** after others.

	MASCULINE	NEUTER	FEMININE
whose	czyj	czyje	czyja
my	mój	moje	moja
your sg.)	twój	twoje	twoja

^{*}-oj- may be omitted from the polysyllabic forms of possessive pronouns; thus we find **mojego** or **mego**, **twojej** or **twej**, **swoimi** or **swymi**.

	MASCULINE	NEUTER	FEMININE
own	swój	swoje	swoja
our	nasz	nasze	nasza
your (pl.)	wasz	wasze	wasza
this	ten	to	ta
he, she, it	on	ono	ona

8.3 Personal pronouns, on the other hand, are not inflected for gender but reflect the sex of the person referred to. **Ty jesteś ładna** (You are pretty) has a predicate adjective in the feminine singular form because it is addressed to a female person. **Ja jestem głodny** (I am hungry), which has the predicate adjective in the masculine singular, would be said by a male person. (In both sentences, however, the pronoun would normally be omitted.) The third-person personal pronoun **on**, which is inflected like the demonstrative pronoun, reflects the sex of the person or the grammatical gender of the object referred to. **Kto** is grammatically masculine: **Kto jest głodny?** **Co** is grammatically neuter: **Co jest ładne?**

Exercise. Use the singular nouns introduced so far in the pattern: **Czyj to jest ołówek? To jest mój ołówek. Ten ołówek jest mój.** In the absence of a possessive pronoun use the genitive form, e.g., **jego** (his), **jej** (her), **ich** (their); see also 12.6 and 23.4.

8.4 In sentences of the form **To jest Noun** and **Noun jest Adjective/Pronoun**, all forms are in the nominative case. In sentences of the form **Noun jest Noun** the predicate noun is normally in the instrumental case (§28). The instrumental case can usually be avoided by using **to**: **Noun to jest Noun** (also **Noun jest to Noun**) or simply **Noun to Noun**, e.g., **Warszawa to duże miasto** (Warsaw is a big city), **Ta książka to powieść** (This book is a novel).

9.1 Some nouns have natural gender. Nouns denoting male persons are masculine: **pan** (master, Mr., [gentle]man), **mąż** (husband), **chłopiec** (boy), **student** (student), **inżynier**

(engineer; 5.5), **gość** (guest), **kolega** (friend), **Kościuszko**. Nouns denoting female persons are feminine: **pani** (Mrs., lady), **żona** (wife), **dziewczynka** (girl), **maszynistka** (typist), **dozorczyni** (caretaker).*

9.11 There is also a class of nouns ending in **-ę** (genitive singular ending in **-ęcia**) which for the most part denote the immature of the species and are neuter, e.g., **orle** (eaglet), **dziewczę** (girl). However, **książę** (prince) has this suffix and is masculine.

9.20 Otherwise, the gender of nouns is arbitrary: "ceiling" is masculine, "wall" is feminine, and "window" is neuter. But although gender for most nouns cannot be predicted from meaning, it is at least reflected in the shape of the noun. The nominative singular form (the name form, by which it is listed in dictionaries) normally suffices to determine the gender.

9.21 Nouns with a zero ending in the nominative singular form and a stem ending in a BASIC CONSONANT, i.e., one of the consonants presented in §1 except **j**, are masculine: **dom** (house), **samochód**, **olówek**, **stół**, **rower** (bicycle), **zab** (tooth). (For stems ending in a labial consonant see also 11.41.)

9.22 Nouns with the nom. sg. ending **-a** are feminine: **kawa** (coffee), **ulica** (street), **suknia** (dress)—unless they denote a male person (see 9.1).

9.23 Nouns with the nom. sg. ending **-o** or **-e** are neuter: **krzesło**, **pióro**, **dziecko** (child), **morze**, **mieszkanie** (apartment).† **Kościuszko** and **dziadzio** (grandpa) are masculine per 9.1.

9.231 Also neuter are nouns ending in the foreign suffix **-um**: **centrum** (center), **muzeum** (museum; "mu-ze-um").

*Some nouns, e.g., **sierota** (orphan), have common gender, being masculine or feminine depending on the referent.

†This **-e** ending may be regarded as an underlying **o** which shifts forward after a nonbasic stem consonant; cf. 12.220. The rule would have numerous exceptions; see 9.8.

9.232 Besides those noted in 9.11, there is another small set of neuter nouns terminating in **-ę** in the nom. sg., e.g., **imię** (name), **ramię** (arm, shoulder). The gen. sg. forms are **imienia**, **ramienia**.

Exercise. For the following nouns determine the gender and express "this X," using **ten**, **to**, or **ta**, as appropriate.

1. **nadzieja** 2. **pojęcie** 3. **pomysł** 4. **teść** (father-in-law) 5. **ciocia** 6. **puch** 7. **sklep** 8. **kłeska** 9. **okno** 10. **zięć** (son-in-law) 11. **kark** 12. **pióro** 13. **kwiat** 14. **usta** (see 7.2) 15. **wódz** (leader) 16. **zabawka** 17. **śnieg** 18. **mięso** 19. **burza** 20. **nieszczęście** 21. **obraz** 22. **ciastko** 23. **kurczę**

9.24 Although they differ in their nom. sg. (also dative sg. [27.2]) forms, nouns with zero endings and nouns with the endings **-o** or **-e** are conveniently grouped together under the rubric **1ST DECLENSION**. Nouns with the nom. sg. ending **-a** belong to the **2ND DECLENSION**.

9.31 When a noun has a zero ending and a stem ending in a **NONBASIC CONSONANT**, i.e., one of those presented in §§ 3 and 4 (plus **j**), its gender is not apparent from the name form. For example, it is not obvious that **kość** (bone) differs in gender from **gość** (which is masc. per 9.1). But gen. sg. **kości**, contrasting with gen. sg. **gościa**, permits the assignment of **kość** to the **3RD DECLENSION**, which comprises only feminine nouns. For nouns like **kość** in addition to the name form one must know either the genitive singular form or else the gender or declension class.

9.32 Underlying representations. Our knowledge about the form of the noun **kość** might be expressed by means of an underlying representation: **kost-I**. This abstract representation is related to the observable surface form by means of phonological rules. First is the rule of palatalization (see below), which softens consonants before front vowels, **kost-I** → **kość-I**. Next is the rule (10.3) which drops **I**, **kość-I** → **kość**. The justification of **kost-I** is that it represents this noun as belonging to the 3rd declension (also called the **i-declension** because **i** occurs in several other endings) and makes

apparent the relationship of **kość** to the diminutive noun **kostka** (little bone) and the adjective **kostny** (pert. to bone).

9.4 Palatalization. When a consonant is assimilated in pronunciation to an adjacent high front vowel, it is said to be softened, or palatalized. (See 3.20 for some of the phonetic background of this rule.) The effects of palatalization are summarized in the following table; see also 20.122.

	DENTAL OBSTRUENTS				SONORANTS			VELARS		
basic	t	d	s	z	n	l	r	k	g	ch
underlying	t	d	s	z	n	l	r	k	g	x
nonbasic	ć	dź	ś	ź	ń	l	rz	c	z	sz
	(phonetically soft)							(phonetically hard)		

Note that the term nonbasic covers both phonetically soft and phonetically hard consonants; see 3.20.* For the latter, the process of palatalization must be understood to include also the lowering of the body of the tongue away from the palate; see 3.32. Basic and underlying are related terms: basic consonants are those which have not undergone palatalization and are therefore the same on the surface (as represented by standard spelling) as in underlying representations. The exception is basic **l**, which is phonetically farther from underlying **l** than is nonbasic **l**; see 1.4 and 4.11. Basic **ch** in underlying representations is written **x**. In cases where the alveolar sibilants **c**, **dź**, **sz**, **ź** occur in underlying representations, they are written with haček: **č**, **ž**, **š**, **ž**; e.g., **szkoła**, underlying **škola**.

Exercise. Derive the following nom. sg. and gen. sg. i-declension noun forms by substituting consonants according to the above table, dropping **l**, and shifting **i** to **y** after phonetically hard consonants. See also 3.35. 1. **twar-l** 2. **sien-l** 3. **rzek-i** 4. **myx-l** 5. **mysl-l** (4.12) 6. **maz-i** 7. **rtęć-l** 8. **garst-i** 9. **łód-l** 10. **stal-l** 11. **uprzęg-i** 12. **wex-l**

9.41 The scope of palatalization. Abstract representations like **kost-l** and phonological rules like palatalization raise several problems. There are very many exceptions to palatalization in modern Polish—basic consonants which are followed by front vowels and nonbasic consonants

*The nonbasic consonants include also **j**.

which are not. Some of these exceptions can be explained. First, we may say that palatalization is limited to native Polish words, not applying, for example, in *teatr* and *Tintoretto*. (However, in *serce* [heart] and *wesele* [wedding] lack of palatalization is the sole evidence of non-Polish origin.) Next, we may assume that palatalization applies only at one point in the sequence of rules needed to account for the pronunciation of Polish words (the phonological derivation) and that therefore many of the exceptions to palatalization are only apparent, since the basic consonant which is followed by the front vowel doesn't have a front vowel after it at the point in the derivation where palatalization applies, while the nonbasic consonant which isn't, does. Thus *kość* has a front vowel which conditions palatalization and is dropped by a subsequent rule. But there remain a considerable number of occurrences and nonoccurrences of palatalization which are hard to explain. This is also true of most of the other rules proposed in this book (the more rules, the more exceptions to those rules). Many authorities on Polish would claim that although at one time (before the earliest written records, 12th century) Polish speakers had a front vowel after the nonbasic consonants in *kość*, *dziad*, and *rząd* and no front vowel in *sen*, *zęby*, and *zginął*, since that time the vowels have undergone so many changes and so many words have entered the language in which palatalization has not applied, that consonant palatalization has lost its connection with front vowels and must be regarded as either a grammatical feature of word-forms or a lexical feature of words.

9.5 Iotation. The nonbasic stem consonant in *kość* may be explained with the underlying representation *kost-I*. This explanation is not available for the noun *placz* gen. *placzu* (crying) because this is not an *i*-declension noun (it is a 1st-declension noun like *stół* gen. *stołu*). To account for the stem consonant in *placzu*, as well as for its relationship to the verb *plakać* (cry), we posit the root *plak* and the derivational suffix *j*: *plak-j-u*. Consonants underlyingly followed by *j* undergo IOTATION, i.e., they fuse with *j* into a single, different consonant. Except for dental obstruents, the result of iotation is the same as the result of palatalization (9.4, 11.4). Thus *plak-j-u* → *plac̣-u* *placzu*.

Exercise. Derive the following gen. sg. 1st declension noun forms. 1. *konj-a* 2. *pisarj-a* 3. *nauczycielj-a* 4. *siekakj-a* 5. *palj-a* 6. *morj-a*

9.51 Iotation of dental obstruents. For dental obstruents iotation has a different result than palatalization:

basic	t	d	s	z	st	zd
iotated	c	dz	sz	ż	szcz	żdż

Note that the iotation of t and d is different when s and z precede.

Exercise. Derive the following gen. sg. 1st-declension noun forms. 1. niz-j-u 2. gąst-j-u 3. wod-j-a 4. smardj-a 5. thust-j-u

9.52 Returning to the subject of predicting gender from the name form, we see that *rzecz* and *placz*, *dal* and *pal*, *twarz* and *lgarz* are ambiguous because underlying velars and sonorants yield the same non-basic consonant before an underlying front vowel, e.g., i, as before j. If the name form unambiguously showed iotation in the stem consonant, the noun would be unambiguously masculine. For example, in *rydz* (a reddish-yellow edible mushroom) underlying d-j is supported by *rudz* (russet). But for *owoc* (fruit) there is no related word indicating underlying t-j. There are other nouns in c borrowed from German, e.g., *filc* (felt). The feminine nouns *moc* (power) and *noc* (night) contain the suffix t and are covered by 9.51. *Piec* (stove) cannot be analyzed as pek-t-i (cf. *piekę* [I bake]) because it is masculine, just as *Bydgoszcz* (130 km. S of Gdansk) no longer supports the earlier analysis *bydgost-j-u* because it is feminine. *Tłuszcz* (fat), *niż* (lowland), and *listonosz* (letter carrier) might be taken for stem-final sk, g, and x respectively, but the related *tłusty* (fat), *niski* (low), and *nosi listy* (carries letters) point to underlying st, z, and s plus j. (*Listonosz* is predictably masculine from its meaning; 9.1.)

9.6 Other instances of stem-final c and dz represent underlying k and g palatalized by a PRECEDING high front vowel. These too are unambiguously not i-declension nouns, because a following underlying i would result in stem-final cz and ż. Examples: *miesiąc* (month), *pieniądz* (coin), and numerous nouns with the suffix -ec, such as *chłopiec*, *palec* (finger), *Niemiec* (German).

9.7 The converse prediction concerning the gender of nouns cannot be made: it is not the case that nouns which do not show iotation in the nonbasic stem consonant are i-declension feminine, not masculine. There is a good number of masculine nouns in Polish which have a palatalized, not iotated, dental obstruent as the stem consonant: *gość*

(guest), **kmieć** (serf), **niedźwiedź** (bear), **łoś** (elk), **paź** (page), **gwóźdź** (nail), **liść** (leaf). Some of these nouns belonged to the i-declension in pre-Polish, when this declension was not exclusively feminine. In cases other than dental obstruents, e.g., in **gołąb** gen. **gołębia** (pigeon) and **ogień** gen. **ognia** (fire), we can posit a stem-final *j*. But accounting for palatalized stem-final dental obstruents is problematic. Leaves were once referred to with forms containing the collective suffix *ij*, which was lost through contraction (11.22); this explains gen. sg. **liścia** but not nom. sg. **liść** (cf. 24.63).

9.8 Affective palatalization. In some nouns the occurrence of a stem-final soft dental consonant can be tied to affective meaning. Consider the following affectionate forms of names: **ciocia** (cf. **ciotka** [aunt]), **Wandzia** (cf. **Wanda**), **Zosia** (cf. **Zofia**), **Józio** (cf. **Józef**), **Mania** (cf. **Maria**). Compare also the **-uś** of **tatuś** (daddy) and **Franuś** (cf. **Franciszek**) and also **mamusia** (mummy) with the nonaffective **-usz** of **Tadeusz** and **geniusz** (genius).

Exercise. Derive affectionate versions of the following names by dropping the parenthesized portion and changing the remaining final consonant to the nearest soft dental. Women's names take nom. sg. **-a**, men's names **-o** (see 9.1 for gender). 1. **Tad(eusz)** 2. **Nat(alia)** 3. **Fred(eryk)** 4. **Rysz(ard)** 5. **Jad(wiga)** 6. **Czes(ław)** 7. **Wład(yśław)** 8. **Zuz(anna)** 9. **Róż(a)** 10. **Ed(ward)** 11. **Wi(k)t(oria)** 12. **Krys(tyna)** For the following men's names substitute **ś** for the parenthesized portion and use the zero nom. sg. ending. 13. **Grze(gorz)** 14. **Sta(ni-sław)** 15. **Zygmu(nt)** For these women's names substitute **ś** for the parenthesized portion. 16. **Malgo(rzat)a** 17. **Ka(tarzyn)a** 18. **Zo(fi)a** 19. **Mary(j)a** (16.3)

10.1 Diminutives. Nouns in Polish often occur in the diminutive form, where the stem ends in a diminutive suffix. These forms are used to express small size, as in **literka** (small letter; cf. **litera**); endearment, as in **synek** (dear little son; cf. **syn**); or simply familiarity, as in **kawka** (coffee; cf. **kawa**). The meaning of a diminutive noun is not always

predictable. Diminutive meaning can fade and be lost, as in **jajko** (egg) and **córka** (daughter). Or the noun can acquire a specialized meaning; **rączka** (cf. **ręka**) besides meaning "(nice) little hand" also means "handle."

10.2 The diminutive suffix -k ~ -ek. As a rule, a suffix added to a noun stem determines the gender of that noun stem; thus **szatnia** (cloakroom) is feminine, but **szatniarz** (cloakroom attendant) is masculine. But **-k ~ -ek** no affect the gender of the noun stem in which it occurs. The diminutive of a masc. noun is masculine, the diminutive of a neut. noun is neuter, and the diminutive of a fem. noun—whether 2nd declension or i-declension—is feminine.

Exercise. Form diminutive nouns from the following stems by adding **-k-** and the appropriate nom. sg. ending (masc. $\emptyset$, fem. **-a**, neut. **-o**). Before the zero ending the suffix takes the form **-ek**. 1. **drzew(o)** (tree) 2. **śrub(a)** (screw) 3. **dom** 4. **kość** (kost-I) 5. **wor-** (sack [masc.]) 6. **lamp(a)** (dim. means also "wineglass") 7. **zab** 8. **sian(o)** (hay) 9. **jabłon(i)** (apple tree) 10. **trąb(a)** (trumpet)

10.3 Fleeting vowels. Nouns like **domek** gen. **domku** contain a so-called fleeting vowel. They must be distinguished from nouns like **igrek** gen. **igreka** (y) on the one hand and **cynk** gen. **cynka** (zinc) on the other, which do not contain fleeting vowels. One of the abstract vowel symbols used for this purpose is $\ddot{u}$, and the stem of **domek** is given the underlying representation dom- $\ddot{u}k$. Like $\ddot{u}$, $\ddot{u}$ occurs only in underlying representations; it corresponds either to **e** or to zero in surface representations. Unlike $\ddot{u}$, $\ddot{u}$ is a back vowel and does not palatalize the preceding consonant. Compare **godzien** fem. **godna** (worthy), the stem of which contains the front fleeting vowel: god- $\ddot{u}n$. The zero ending of **kość**, an i-declension noun, is represented as $\ddot{u}$. The zero ending of **dom**, belonging to a different declension and ending in a basic consonant, may be represented as $\ddot{u}$: dom- $\ddot{u}$. The rules applicable to $\ddot{u}$ and $\ddot{u}$ are:

A. I or ũ, followed in the next syllable of the word by I or ũ, changes to **e**; otherwise,

B. I or ũ drops.*

For example, dŭsŭk-a (nom. sg. of "board") →A→ desŭk-a →B→ desk-a **deska**; dŭsŭk-ŭ (gen. pl.) →A→ desek-ŭ →B→ desek **desek**.

Exercise. Derive the following nom. and gen. noun forms.

1. kot-ŭ (cat) 2. kot-ŭk-ŭ 3. kot-ŭk-a 4. dom-ŭk-u 5. dom-ŭk-ŭ 6. jablon-ŭk-ŭ (24.622) 8. vor-ŭk-a 9. syn-ŭk-a 10. pŭs-a (dog [masc.])

10.4 The diminutive suffix **-k-** is never preceded by a velar consonant. When a noun has a stem-final velar, the diminutive form shows an alveolar sibilant, e.g., **sok** (juice) dim. **soczek**, **noga** (leg) dim. **nŏżka**, **ucho** (ear) dim. **uszko**. Apparently ŭk has the alternate form lk, which occurs after velars. Thus sok-lk-ŭ first undergoes palatalization, → soč-lk-ŭ, and then the rules for fleeting vowels apply, →A→ soč-ek-ŭ →B→ soč-ek **soczek**. Here is the full set of velar-alveolar correspondences:

basic	k	g	ch	sk	zg
nonbasic	cz	ż	sz	szcz	żdż

Note that a dental preceding the velar also shifts to an alveolar. Noncontinuant **g** corresponds to noncontinuant **dż** only after **ż**; otherwise **g** corresponds to continuant **ż**.

Exercise. Derive nom. sg. diminutive forms for the following. 1. **dach** (roof) 2. **mleko** (milk) 3. **intryga** (intrigue) 4. **wosk** (wax; dim. means "ear wax") 5. **mucha** (fly; dim. means also "bowtie," "beauty spot," and "bead" [on gun sight]) 6. **szpinak** (spinach) 7. **śnieg** (snow) 8. **mŏzg** (brain; dim. means also "cerebellum" and "calf's brains") 9. **rŏzga** (twig, switch) 10. **zysk** (profit)

*These rules sometimes do not work with prepositions and with the instr. sg. masc./neut. ending; see 28.21.

10.5 Nouns sometimes contain more than one **-k-** suffix. This occurs when a second degree of diminution is expressed, e.g., **pies** (dog), **piesek** (little dog), **pieseczek** (nice little doggy). It also occurs in the case of nouns with **-k-** which have lost diminutive meaning, e.g., **książka**, dim. **książeczka**. In such cases the form of the noun without **-k-** may have augmentative meaning and/or idiomatic meanings, e.g., **księga** (tome).

Exercise. Derive augmentatives from the following nouns by dropping the **-k-** suffix and diminutives by adding another. 1. **miska** (bowl) 2. **pudełko** (box; **e** is fleeting) 3. **worek** (bag; 15.1) 4. **córka*** 5. **walizka** (suitcase)

11.1 Adjectives. Like pronouns (8.1), adjectives show grammatical agreement with some noun in the sentence.† In **Ojciec jest dobry** (The father is good), the nom. sg. masc. ending **-y** indicates agreement with **ojciec**. In **ciekawa powieść** (interesting novel) the fem. sg. nom. ending **-a** indicates agreement with **powieść**. In **ciche dziecko** (quiet child) the adjective has the neut. sg. nom. ending **-e**.

Exercise. Form sentences using the model **Ten pan jest dobry** using some of the nouns introduced so far and the adjectives **ciekawý**, **dobry**, **duży** (big), **ładny**, **mały** (little), **nowy** (new), **okropny** (awful), and **stary** (old). For plural nouns use the neuter ending.

11.21 Y is a front vowel (1.1). However, the fact that in **dobry**, **ładny**, etc. it is preceded by a basic consonant shows that UNDERLYING **y** is a back vowel. All underlying **y**'s are shifted forward and slightly opened (pronounced between **i** and **e**). A velar stop followed by **y** assimilates to it by shift-

*Although the **-k-** suffix is the most common, there are other diminutive suffixes in Polish. Thus for **córka** we find also **córuś**, **córunia**, **córeńka**, and **córuchna**.

†But some adjectives are habitually used without nouns and have inherent gender, e.g., **złoty** (zloty), **komorne** (rent), **przeciętna** (average).

ing the point of closure forward. (In English, compare the more advanced velar closure of *keep* with that of *coop*.) Further, *y* adapts to the high somewhat forward tongue position of the velar stop by shifting still farther forward and upward to *i*. In this way all instances of underlying *ky* and *gy* shift to *ki* and *gi*. Hence, next to *dobry* and *ładny* we find *jaki* (what kind of) and *długi* (long). In Polish *k* and *g* are never followed by *y*, only *i*. This does not apply to the velar fricative, as in *cichy* and *blahy* (trivial) (but cf. 21.36).

11.22 Similarly, the nom. sg. neut. adjective ending heard in *nowe*, *ciche*, and so on is a front vowel. But when this ending is added to *dług-* and *jak-*, the result is not **dłuże*, **jacze*, but *długie*, *jakie*. This suggests that *-e* underlyingly contains a back vowel. The underlying representation proposed here is *oje*. **oje* undergoes CONTRACTION, perhaps thus: the two vowels assimilate to each other, → *eje*, the *i* is lost, → *ee*, and the vowels contract into one, → *-e* (cf. 18.3). Before *-e*, velar stops undergo the same forward shift as before fronted *-y*. (In English, compare the pronunciation of *get* as "gyet.") Forward-shifted *k* and *g* are represented in Polish spelling by means of silent *i*: *długie*, *jakie*. The spelling of fronted velar stops before front vowels is thus parallel to the spelling of soft dentals (3.35).

Exercise. Add masc., neut., and fem. nom. sg. endings to the following adjective stems. 1. *polsk-* (Polish) 2. *pust-* (empty) 3. *głuch-* (deaf) 4. *grub-* (thick) 5. *tęg-* (stout)

*This underlying representation is consistent with those of other adjective endings in Polish. It is generally the case that the adjective ending is a longer version of the corresponding noun ending, partially similar to it. Thus the nom. sg. masc. adjective ending *-y* can be compared with the nom. sg. 1st-declen. masc. ending *-ŭ*; both are high back vowels but the latter is dropped. Further, the fem. sg. accusative adjective ending *-ą* can be described as the "long nasal vowel" (15.3), compared with the fem. sg. acc. noun ending *-ę*, the "short nasal vowel."

6. **lekk-** (light) 7. **pierwsz-** (first) 8. **stal-** (constant) 9. **ubog-** (poor) 10. **głodn-** (hungry)

11.221 **K** and **g** are shifted forward also before **e** from underlying **ŋ**, e.g., **kty** (tusks) sg. **kieł**, **gra** (game) gen. pl. **gier**. But forward-shifting **k** and **g** before **e** (from underlying back nasal vowel; see 15.3) is considered substandard, e.g., **gęba** (mouth) NOT "giem-ba." Among foreign borrowings, the older, more fully assimilated show fronting of **k** and **g** before **e** and it is reflected in the spelling: **kierować** (direct; cf. Ger. *kehren*), **Jęgiello**. Other borrowings are spelled without **i**: **geniusz**, **kelner** (waiter; cf. Ger. *Kellner*), **algebra**.

11.31 Adjectives express qualities ("good," "new," "orange," etc.) or relationship ("pertaining to ..."). The stem of a qualitative adjective often consists of a single root: **zł-**, **cich-**, **now-**, **dług-**, **blad-** (pale). The stem of a relational adjective consists minimally of a root and a suffix: **polski** (root **pol-**), **szkolny** (cf. **szkół** [school]), **koci** (feline; cf. **kot**). An adjective suffix normally marks the derivation of the adjective from another part of speech. However, there are qualitative adjectives containing suffixes which are not derived from other parts of speech.

11.32 Adjective suffixes include underlying **ln** (spelled **-n-**) and **isk** (various spellings). Headed by the vowel which palatalizes the root-final consonant and then drops, these suffixes condition a number of changes in shape of the root. In **szkol-ln-y**, palatalization applies, → **szkol-ln-y**, and then the fleeting vowel drops, → **szkolny**. In the case of **isk**, **I** palatalizes root-final consonants, and then all alveolar obstruents (except **rz**; see 20.122) assimilate to dentals and the resulting dental cluster simplifies. For example, **bałtyk-isk-y** (cf. **Bałtyk**) palatalizes to **bałtyč-isk-y**, **I** drops, → **bałtyč-sk-y**, alveolar **č** becomes dental, → **bałtyc-sk-y**, then the dental affricate represented by **cs** simplifies, → **bałtyek-y** **bałtycki**. In **vlox-isk-y** (cf. **Włochy** [Italy]), palatalization gives **vloč-isk-y**, loss of **I** and assimilation gives **vloask-y**, which simplifies to **włoski**. **W** before **-ski** is often not pronounced: **krakowski** "kra-ko-ski."

Exercise. Derive the following nom. sg. masc. adjective forms. 1. **strax-ln-y** (cf. **strach** [fear]) 2. **bok-ln-y** (cf. **bok** [side]) 3. **ros-yj-isk-y** (cf. **Rosja** [Russia]) 4. **afryk-an-isk-y** (cf. **Afryka**) 5. **angł-isk-y** (cf. **Anglia** [England]) 6. **męż-isk-y** 7. **student-isk-y** (see 3.13)

8. *paryż-isk-y* (cf. *Paryż*) 9. *bog-isk-y* (cf. *Bóg* [God]) 10. *szwed-isk-y* (cf. *Szwed* [Swede]); root-final affricate is spelled as if voiced.

11.33 Some adjectives have stems ending in a nonbasic consonant. In a relational adjective like *kobiecy* (cf. *kobieta* [woman]), we assume a derivational suffix *j* (9.51). But in *koci* (cf. *kot* [cat]) the palatalized—not iotated—stem consonant requires that we posit the derivational suffix *ij*, which palatalizes the stem consonant and then is lost by contraction. Qualitative adjectives with nonbasic stem consonants may be thought of as having stem-final *j* (or *ij* in the case of soft dental obstruents), e.g., *tani* (cheap) stem *tanj*, *duży* (big) stem *dazj*.*

Exercise. Derive the following nom. sg. neut. adjective forms. 1. *kobiet-j-oje* 2. *kot-ij-oje* 3. *pies-ij-oje* (cf. *pies* [dog]) 4. *zwier-ęt-j-oje* (cf. *zwierzęta* [animals]) 5. *tjudj-oje* (other's)

11.34 Affective palatalization (9.8) occurs also in adjectives. Before the diminutive suffix *-utk-* consonants are palatalized and phonetically soft: *malutki* (cf. *mały*), *czyściutki* (cf. *czysty* [clean]), *cieniutki* (cf. *cienki* [thin]), *grubiutki* (cf. *gruby* [fat]). The affective meaning expressed by *-utk-* is not compatible with all adjectives. Thus *niski* (low) and *lekki* (light) yield *niziutki* and *leciutki*, but their opposites, *wysoki* (high) and *ciężki* (heavy), do not occur in the diminutive form. Since the expected palatalization of *lek-* would be *lec-* (9.4), which is phonetically hard, *leciutki* shows a second degree of palatalization, as do *mięciutki* (cf. *miękki* [soft]) and *niebieściutki* (cf. *niebieski* [light blue]). But for *ubogi* (poor) it is *ubożutki*.

11.4 **Soft labials.** Adjectives with nonbasic stem consonants include *głupi* (stupid) and *małpi* (monkey's). The latter, a possessive adjective (cf. *małpa* [monkey]), has the stem *malp-j* (or perhaps *malp-ij*). For the former, a nonderived qualitative adjective, we may posit the stem *glupj*. These stem consonants must be considered soft (palatalized or iotated) labials. Note the parallel in spelling with soft dentals: *głupi głupie głupia* like *koci kocie kocia*, where for the ending *-i* the letter *i* represents both the ending and the quality of the preceding consonant, while for the endings *-ie* and *-ia* the

* Or perhaps *dugj*. The fact that the male-personal (20.4) nom. pl. form of *duży* is *duzi* does not necessarily point to underlying *z* in this adjective because the possessive adjective from *papuga* (parrot) is *papuzi*

i is silent and represents only the quality of the consonant. In principle, soft labials have a basic labial articulation (bilabial for **p**, **b**, **m**; labiodental for **f**, **w**) and a j-like coarticulation with the body of the tongue raised and advanced. For many if not most Polish speakers, however, the two articulations are not synchronized, the j-like coarticulation being slightly delayed.* The consequences of desynchronization are several. When the following vowel is other than **i**, the coarticulation is realized as a separate **j** glide, and **glupia** (for example) is pronounced more or less as spelled: **p** + (non-syllabic) **i** + **a**. Thus the **j** glide resulting from labial palatalization for many Polish speakers is not distinguished from **j**'s with other origins. For example, **obiad** (dinner; palatalized **b** + **a**) does not contrast with **objazd** (detour; **ob** + **-jazd**), and **chemia** (chemistry; glided from **chem-ij-a** [16.3]) does not contrast with **ziemia** (earth; iotated **m** + **a**). When the following vowel is **i**, the coarticulation merges with the high front articulation of that vowel and is lost.

11.41 Word-final labial consonants. An important consequence of desynchronization is the fact that labials are never palatalized at the end of a word or before a consonant. Thus for example, although imperatives (34.2) always end in a non-basic consonant, e.g., **idź** (go), **pokaż** (show), **piecz** (bake), **pal** (burn), in the case of a labial consonant we find, e.g., **rób** (do), **zostaw** (leave it), **łam** (break). As for nouns, a nom. sg. zero ending will always be preceded by a basic labial consonant. Therefore the name form does not permit one to distinguish nouns like **zab**, which has basic **b** elsewhere in its paradigm, from nouns like **gołąb**, a masc. noun with a stem-final **j**, and nouns like **głąb**, which belong to the **i**-declension. The genitive singular forms make the distinction clear however: **zęba**, **gołębia**, **głębi**.

*Perfect synchronization of the two articulations is not possible. If, for example in **pia-**, the **j** coarticulation did not extend past the release of the **p**, the syllable would not be distinguishable from **pa-**.

Exercise. Derive the following nom. sg. forms and give the declension class. 1. *krův-I* (blood) 2. **Bytom-j-ů** (city in Silesia) 3. *karm-ů* (feed) 4. *karpj-ů* (carp) 5. *drůbj-ů* (poultry) 6. *chorągův-I* (flag) 7. *krev-ů* (shrub) 8. *žółtvj-ů* (turtle) 9. **Wrocław-j-ů** (chief city of Silesia) 10. **czar-noziem-ů** (humus) 11. *golobj-ů* 12. *glqb-I*

12.11 Staś mieszka w Warszawie (Stan lives in Warsaw) consists of a subject, **Staś**, and a predicate which consists of a verb, **mieszka**, and a locative expression, **w Warszawie**. The latter is marked not only by a preposition, as in English, but also by a different form of the word. **Warszawie** is the LOCATIVE CASE form of **Warszawa**, reflecting its use in a locative phrase. Other locative phrases calling for the locative case are **na stole** (on the table), **na koncercie** (at the concert), and **przy oknie** (near the window). The locative case reflects the fact that these phrases express location in, on, or near something rather than motion toward it. To express motion toward, e.g., "to Warsaw," "onto the table," "to the concert," a different case is used and often a different preposition as well.

12.111 The use of **w** (in) and **na** (on) depends mainly on whether the location is viewed as a container or a surface, e.g., **w domu** (in the house) but **na podłodze** (on the floor). Gathering places are viewed in Polish as surfaces: **na zebraniu**, **na uniwersytecie**, **na lektoracie** (at the meeting/university/language class). So is the post office (**na poczcie**)—but not the factory (**w fabryce**). Cities (once walled in) take **w**, but suburbs and outlying areas are viewed as open and take **na**: **w śródmieściu** (downtown [in Warsaw]) but **na Mokotowie**, **na Bielanych** (in Mokotow, in Bielany [other sections of Warsaw]). Countries take **w** (**w Polsce**, **w USA**), but Lithuania and Hungary have been traditionally regarded as outlying areas, hence **na Litwie**, **na Węgrzech** (25.11).

12.12 The locative case is used also in phrases where the meaning of location is quite abstract, if not absent altogether: **o Krakowie** (concerning Cracow), **o godzinie pierwszej** (at one o'clock), (**spacer**) **po mieście** ([a stroll] about town), **po obiedzie** (after dinner). The locative case occurs only in

prepositional phrases. For this reason it is often called the **PREPOSITIONAL CASE**.

12.21 I-declension nouns take the loc. sg. ending *i*, which is spelled either **-i** or **-y** (3.341): *w Łodzi, w głębi, o rzeczy, na twarzy* (cf. nom. sg. *Łódź, głąb, rzecz, twarz*).

Exercise. Use the following i-declension nouns in a locative-case prepositional phrase. 1. *noc* (night) 2. *podróż* (trip; not *na*) 3. *kość* 4. *odpowiedź* (answer) 5. *krew* (krŭv-; use *w vŭ* and see 10.3) 6. *sień* (hallway) 7. *mysz* (mouse) 8. *myśl* (thought) 9. *poręcz* (handrail) 10. *zieleń* (verdure)

12.220 Other nouns in the loc. sg. form take **-e**, **-i/-y**, or **-u**, depending on the stem-final consonant and on declension class. When the stem consonant undergoes palatalization, the ending is **-e**. When it does not, the ending is **-u** for 1st-declension nouns and **-i/-y** for 2nd-declension nouns. Loc. sg. **-e** might be abstractly represented as 'e: palatalization AND e, one occurring only if the other does.

However, the selection of the ending must be described as **PRIOR** to the phonetic shift which it conditions. Somehow **-e** must be chosen in anticipation of the effect it will have on the stem consonant. For example, *liśc-* and *Zuż-* occur as 1st- and 2nd-declension noun stems respectively. Moreover, *liście* and *Zuzie* occur as loc. sg. forms. But loc. sg. **-e** cannot be added to the stems *liśc-* and *Zuż-* because these stems being already palatalized cannot undergo palatalization. It is *list-* (letter) and *Zuz-* (Sue) with their basic stem consonants that take loc. sg. **-e**; *liśc-* (leaf) and *Zuż-* (Suzy) with their nonbasic consonants take the other loc. sg. endings: *liściu, Zuzi*. For describing the mechanism of loc. sg. ending selection, there seem to be two options. We could uniformly select **-e** for all (1st- and 2nd-declension) noun stems; then following palatalization we could reject those stem-ending combinations which failed to show a contrast between the loc. sg. and, say, nom. sg. stems (this would parallel the handling of the optional 1st plur. verb ending **-m** [18.02 fn.]). Or we could represent **-e**, **-i/-y**, and **-u** as a single underlying ending which is phonetically affected by the stem consonant. The underlying representation would be *oi*. After basic consonants, as in *list-oi* and *zuz-oi*, the diphthong would undergo no changes other than monophthongization, → *list-e, zuz-e*, followed by palatalization: *liśc-e*

liście, zuż-e Zuzie. (Underlying *oi* is one way of explaining why, although the verb ending *-e* [18.111] conditions palatalization in velar stops per 9.4, e.g., *piekę piecze* [I/he bakes] and *możę może* [I/he can], the loc. sg. *-e* does not: *ręka* [hand] not **ręce*, *noga* [leg] not **noże*.) After a nonbasic consonant with 2nd-declension nouns, as in *zuż-oi* (9.8), the back vowel of the diphthong would shift forward, → *zuż-ei* (cf. 9.23 fn.), and this diphthong would simplify to *i*, → *zuż-i Zuzi*. After a nonbasic consonant with 1st-declension nouns, as in *liśc-oi* (or *list-ij-oi* [9.7]), the glide of the diphthong would dissimilate to *u*, → *liśc-ou*, and this diphthong would simplify to *u*, → *liśc-u liściu*. (However, some occurrences of *-u* are hard to view as dissimilations.)

12.221 Nouns whose stems in the nom. sg. form end in a basic consonant (except those in 12.224–5) end in *-e* in the loc. sg. form, with the stem consonant undergoing palatalization (9.4).

Exercise. Derive 1. *teatr-oi* 2. *samochod-oi* 3. *piętr-oi* (story [of a building]) 4. *piór-oi* (pen) 5. *okn-oi* 6. *ryb-oi* (fish; see 11.4) 7. *cex-oi* (characteristic) 8. *mest-oi* (city) 9. *rząd-oi* (row) 10. *kostel-oi* (church) 11. *obed-oi* (dinner) 12. *paper-oi* (paper).

12.222 A stem-final velar stop in a 2nd-declension noun palatalizes differently than in 9.4: *k* shifts to *c* and *g* to *dz*, e.g., *ręk-oi* → *ręk-e* → *ręce*; *nog-oi* → *nog-e* → *nodze*.

Exercise. Use the following 2nd declension nouns in locative case phrases. 1. *Polska* (Poland) 2. *książka* 3. *kolega* 4. *Katanga* 5. *Ostrołęka* (100 km. N of Warsaw) 6. *księga* 7. *książeczka* 8. *mucha* 9. *muszka* 10. *droga* (road)

12.223 Nouns of the 2nd declension with stems in a nonbasic consonant end in *-i* or *-y* in the loc. sg. form.

Exercise. Use the following 2nd-declension nouns in locative-case phrases. 1. *burza* (storm) 2. *tablica* 3. *kawiarnia* (coffeehouse) 4. *Nacia* 5. *Urszula* 6. *lekcja* (lesson) 7. *pani* 8. *buzia* (mouth [affective]) 9. *Łomża* (140 km. NE of Warsaw) 10. *mówca* (speaker [9.1]) 11. *koszula* 12. *msza* (Mass; with *na* [at], see 12.5) 13. *wiedza* (science)

12.224 Nouns of the 1st declension with stems in a non-basic consonant or in a velar consonant end in **-u** in the loc. sg. form.

12.225 Three 1st-decl. masc. nouns with basic (not velar) stem consonants also have **-u** in the loc. sg.: **dom**, **pan**, and **syn**. So do the plural nouns with the 1stv suffix denoting married couples, e.g., **państwo** (Mr. and Mrs.), **województwo** (the voivode and his wife). Other nouns in 1stv are neuter and regular in the loc. sg. form, e.g., **w tym państwie** (in this state), **w województwie zielonogórskim** (in the Zielona Gora province).

Exercise. Use the following 1st-declension nouns in locative-case phrases. 1. **język** (tongue, language) 2. **rower** 3. **mieszkanie** 4. **syn** 5. **chłopiec** (e is fleeting) 6. **oko** (eye) 7. **państwo** (state) 8. **Stanisław** 9. **Wrocław** (11.41)* 10. **Staś**

12.23 Summary of loc. sg. endings. Does the stem end in a basic consonant? If yes (**dom**, **gazeta**, **kolega**, **parking**, **rower**, **szkoła**, **ucho**, **ząb** [see 11.41]), then is it 2nd declension? If yes (**gazeta**, **kolega**, **szkoła**), then **-e**. If no (**dom**, **parking**, **rower**, **ucho**, **ząb**), then does it end in a velar consonant (or is it listed in 12.225)? If yes (**dom**, **parking**, **ucho**), then **-u**. If no (**rower**, **ząb**), then **-e**. If the stem does not end in a basic consonant (**gołąb**, **hotel**, **klucz**, **kolej**, **morze**, **pani**, **rola**, **rzecz**, **tramwaj**), then is it 1st declension? If yes (**gołąb**, **hotel**, **klucz**, **morze**, **tramwaj**), then **-u**. If no (**kolej**, **pani**, **rola**, **rzecz**), then **-i/-y**.*

12.31 Adjectives and most pronouns take the loc. sg. masc./neut. ending **-ym/-im** (underlying **ym**) and the loc. sg. fem. ending **-ej** (underlying **-ojej**; cf. 11.22) For example: **w**

*Pronounce the nonsyllabic prepositions **w** and **z** (with; from) with **-e** when failure to do so would result in a gen. inate consonant followed by another consonant; thus in **we Francji** (in France) and **ze studentem** (with the student), but not in **z Francji** (from France), **z Zuzą** (with Sue), **w studencie**, **w Warszawie**, or **przez studentów** (by the students).

†For **kolej** (railway; turn), see also 12.4.

tym nowym domu, w języku polskim, o mojej młodej córce
(about my young daughter), w tej długiej powieści.*

12.32 Personal pronouns (8.3) often have a different stem in the oblique cases (e.g., loc.) than in the nominative.

nom. **kto co on ono ona ja ty — my wy**
loc. **kim czym nim niej mnie tobie sobie nas was**

The oblique-case stem of the 3rd person pronoun is *j-* (as in **jego** [him]). When the 3rd person pronoun is used with a preposition, it is preceded by *n*. Thus, "about him" is *o n-j-ym*: *y* assimilates to *j*, → *o n-j-im*, *n* undergoes *j*-palatalization, → *o ń-im o nim* ("o-ńim"; 12.5). **Sobie** is the reflexive personal pronoun (oneself), e.g., **Myślę o sobie** (I'm thinking about myself).

12.4 Underlying *j* drops before *i*. Thus when the 3rd-person pronoun stem *j*, as in **jego** and **jej**, is followed by the gen. pl. ending *yx*, first the *y* assimilates to the *j*, *j-yx* → *j-ix*, then *j* drops, → **ich**. Similarly **moj-** plus loc. sg. *ym* gives **moim**. In other than word-initial position, however, dropping *j* is only a spelling rule; it is not a rule of pronunciation because forms like **moim** and **stoimy** (we stand) are not normally pronounced with hiatus. Because of this spelling rule, *j* never occurs before *i* (except after *c*, *s*, and *z*, per 16.3).

Exercise. 1. **czyj-** + loc. sg. *-ym* 2. **kolej-** + gen. pl. *-i*
3. **kolej-** + loc. sg. *-oi* 4. interrogative stem *j-* (as in **jak**
+ quantitative morpheme *-yle* (as in **tyle** [so many/
much]) 5. **svoj-** + adj. suffix *-ist(y)* (to form adj. "individual")

12.5 For purposes of accent (2.2 B), a preposition and the following pronoun constitute a word: **o nim** "o-ńim,"

*-*ym* has a long history of competing with *-em* (also *-ymi* with *-emi*, §28); cf. **po tym** (e.g., **koncercie**) and the fixed expression **potem** (later). Since 1936 the only regular use of *-em* is with adjectival-declension names which have *-e* in the nom. sg. form, e.g., **Goethe o Goethem**, **Zakopane** (resort town in the Tatras) **w Zakopanem**.

beze mnie (without me) "be-zem-ńe," **na tym stole** "na-tym-sto-le." A preposition and the following noun, however, constitute an accentual word only in set phrases. Thus **na wsi** is pronounced "na-fśi" in the set phrase meaning "in the country"; otherwise **wieś** (village) does not form an accentual word with the preposition: **o wsi** "o-fśi."*

12.6 Second-person pronouns are used in addressing intimates and children, **ty** if one and **wy** if more than one. Adults with whom one is not on **ty** terms are addressed in the third person with the appropriate noun:

pan — one man

panowie — plural men

pani — one woman

panie — plural women

państwo — a mixed group

Older relatives are also addressed in the third person, e.g., **Czy babcia wypije jeszcze herbaty?** (Will you have some more tea?—said to one's grandmother). Note that third-person subjects have the expected agreement in the predicate: **Czy pani jest zajęta?** (Are you busy?), **Czy państwo są już po obiedzie?** (Have you already had dinner?).†

13.1 Polish surnames which contain the adjective suffix **isk** are declined like adjectives: **Stanisław Wileński**, **o Stanisławie Wileńskim**; **Krystyna Potocka**, **o Krystynie Potockiej**. Some men's given names are declined in this way: **Jerzy** (George; "je-ży"), **o Jerzym**; **Walery**, **o Walerym**. Certain foreign men's names also follow this pattern, e.g., **o prezydencie Kennedy** (see also 12.31 fn.).

13.2 Other men's surnames are declined like nouns: **Mickiewicz**, **Baran**, **Sznajder**, **Szymczak**. Also, **Zaręba**, **Kulesza**, **Sapieha**, **Chodźko**, which belong to the 2nd declension (9.1).

Exercise. Put the above in the loc. sg. (Treat stem-final **h** like **ch**).

13.3 Women's surnames ending in a consonant are not declined: **Maria Wójtowicz**, **o Marii Wójtowicz**. Neither are grammatically mas-

*There is a difference only when the object is monosyllabic.

†**Czy państwo jesteście** (29.1) ..., with a 2nd-person predicate is also acceptable, but not with singular subjects, e.g., **Widzisz pan** (You see).

culine titles prefixed to a woman's name: **pani doktor Danuta Wieczorkiewicz, o pani doktor Danucie Wieczorkiewicz.**

13.4 Women's surnames sometimes contain suffixes indicating marital status: **-ow-** (Mrs.) and **-ówn-** (Miss) occur with masculine surnames of the 1st declension, and **-in-/-yn-** (Mrs.) and **-ank-** (Miss) with 2nd-declension surnames.* The latter suffixes palatalize the stem-final consonant; cf. also **Sapieha, Sapieżyna, Sapieżanka**. The suffixes **-ówn-**, **-in-**, and **-ank-** take noun endings; **-ow-** takes adjective endings; e.g., **o Ewie Romanównie**, but **o Jadwidze Romanowej**. Although form of surname is a matter of individual preference, the trend is away from these suffixes, in favor of using the basic form (preferred also in administrative usage): **Krystyna Czechowicz, o Krystynie Czechowicz; Zofia Zaręba, o Zofii Zarębie.**

Exercise. Use the following names in the sentence **Mówimy o ...** (We are talking about ...). For women's surnames give alternate forms with and without suffixes. 1. Zbigniew Słowski 2. Urszula Sandomierska 3. Andrzej Dorożyński 4. Krystyna Sokołowska 5. Mieczysław Łopata 6. Alina Koszelewiczówna 7. Ewa Żmigrodzka-Zulc 8. Adam Żaczek (fleeting e) 9. Elżbieta Sapieha 10. Tomasz Wyczółkowski

13.5 The names of some Polish cities consist of a noun and an adjective. As with other adjective-noun combinations in Polish, the descriptive adjective normally precedes (**Zielona Góra**) while the relational adjective follows (**Piotrków Trybunalski**).

Exercise. Express "In ... there lives (mieszka) ...," using the following Polish cities and the names in the preceding exercise. 1. Lublin 2. Gdańsk 3. Częstochowa 4. Poznań (9.5) 5. Bydgoszcz (9.31) 6. Opole 7. Łomża 8. Ostrów (ov) Wielkopolski 9. Ostrów (ov) Mazowiecka 10. Białystok (one accentual word [12.5] in nom.; declined as two words in oblique cases, although written as one)

14.1 Dispalatalization. Words sometimes show different vowels in different forms. For example, "in church" is **w kościele** but "to church" is **do kościoła**, where the root vowel **e** in the loc. sg. form corresponds to **o** in other forms of this noun. Cf. also the relational adjective **kościel-**

*1st-declen. suffixes show a tendency to replace 2nd-declen. suffixes, e.g., **Kutrzeba, Kutrzebowa, Kutrzebówna**, and not **Kutrzebina, Kutzebianka**. However, with surnames ending in **g**, we find **-yna, -anka**, e.g., **Drąg, Drążyna, Drążanka**, since the **-ówna** suffix would result in a name which partially coincides with **gówno** (excrement [vulg.]).

ny. To account for this alternation, we posit a rule of DISPALATALIZATION, which shifts underlying *e* backward (away from the palate) to *o* when it is followed by a basic dental consonant (*t, d, s, z, n, r, l*). Thus in loc. sg. *kościel* dispalatalization does not apply because *e* is followed by a palatalized dental consonant. But in gen. sg. *kostel-a*, first palatalization applies, → *kościel-a*, then dispalatalization, → *kościol-a* *kościola*. Dispalatalization normally does not apply to *e* which derives (per 10.3) from *I* or *ũ*. For example, *pis-ũ* (dog) undergoes palatalization and fleeting-vowel rules, → *pies*, but not dispalatalization.

Exercise. Derive. 1. *kostel*-In-y 2. *tes-ũ* 3. *tes-el-ũk-a* 4. *tes-el*-Istv-o 5. *anel-oi* (loc. sg.) 6. *anel-a* 7. *anel-Isk-y* 8. *sestr-a* 9. *rexet-o* 10. *tek-av-y* 11. *pred-u* (gen. sg.) 12. *pred-oi* (dispalatalization optional) 13. *zelen-I* 14. *zelen-I* 15. *tet-ũk-a*

14.2 Some *e*'s are related by the rule of dispalatalization not to *o* but to *a*: *w mieście* (in the city), *do miasta* (to the city). In loc. sg. *mest-e* (from *mest-oi* [12.220]) all consonants are palatalized and so there is no dispalatalization in the vowel. But in gen. sg. *mest-a*, only the initial consonant palatalizes, and before the stem-final basic dental consonant *e* dispalatalizes to *a*: *miasta*. To distinguish this *e* from *e*'s which dispalatalize to *o* we mark it with haček: ě. Thus *kostel-a* dispalatalizes to *kościola*, while *měst-a* dispalatalizes to *miasta*.

Exercise. Derive. 1. *věra* 2. *věr-oi* 3. *věr-y* (gen. sg.) 4. *věr-i* (he believes) 5. *lěs-ũ* 6. *lěs-oi* 7. *lěs-ũk-ũ* 8. *lěs-In-y* 9. *oběd-ũ* 10. *oběd-oi* 11. *běl-y* 12. *běl-I* 13. *děd-ũk-ũ* 14. *rěd-ũk-y* 15. *pěs-ũk-ũ*

14.3 The scope of dispalatalization. The forms in the preceding two exercises are hand-picked to yield the correct result when palatalization, dispalatalization, and other rules are applied in the proper order. They are "regular." In many cases, however, we find *e* undergoing dispalatalization even where it is not followed by a basic dental, e.g., *włokę* (I drag) and *gwiaździsty* (starry), and we do not find dispalatalization where *e* is followed by a basic dental, e.g., *lezę* (I crawl) and *krzesło*. These exceptional cases are in fact more numerous than the "regular" cases. For this reason the application of dispalatalization is a matter for detailed lexical specification.

15.1 Vowel lengthening. Another set of conditions under which words show different vowels in different forms can be referred to with the term LENGTHENING. The term is borrowed from historical linguistics and is not appropriate literally, because in modern Polish all vowels are pronounced with approximately the same duration. Five hundred years ago, however, Polish distinguished between long vowels and

short vowels (as Czech and Slovak do to this day), and this distinction is still in large measure reflected in the case of underlying *o* and the nasal vowels.*

13.2 The alternation *o* ~ *ó*. Forms of "table" which have a vowel ending (loc. sg. *stole*, gen. sg. *stolu*, nom. pl. *stoły*, etc.) show the root vowel *o*, but the form with the zero ending shows *ó*: *stół*. The vowel *ó* here can be regarded as "long *o*," and its appearance in *stół* may be accounted for by the rule of COMPENSATORY LENGTHENING. This rule applies in stems of words where the stem-final consonant is voiced and the ending is phonetically zero (underlying *l* or *ń*). The loss of the final vowel is compensated for by a lengthening in the preceding syllable. Voiced consonants for purposes of this rule include the obstruents and also the sonorants—except for the nasal sonorants.†

Exercise. Derive. 1. *lod-l* 2. *ogrod-ń* 3. *dvor-ń* 4. *grob-ń* 5. *prox-ń* 6. *bog-ń* 7. *potop-ń* 8. *moj-ń* 9. *voz-ń* 10. *nozj-ń* 11. *vod-j-ń* 12. *ovotj-ń* 13. *list-o-nos-j-ń* (Note: iotation applies before compensatory lengthening).

13.21 The rule of compensatory lengthening applies after the rule of dispalatalization. Therefore *o*'s resulting from the latter are also subject to the former. For example, *kostel-ń* palatalizes to *kośćel-ń*, dispalatalizes to *kośól-ń*, and then lengthens to *kościół* *kościół*.

Exercise. Derive. 1. *med-ń* 2. *veker-ń* 3. *u-ber-ń* 4. *popel-ń* 5. *let-ń* 6. *tred-ń*† 7. *vred-ń* 8. *po-zem-ń* (dispalatalization applies) 9. *brez-a* 10. *nes-l-ń*

13.3 The alternation *e* ~ *ą*. Forms of "row" and "tooth" which have a vowel ending (*rzędzie*, *rzędu*, *rzędy*, etc.; *zębie*, *zęba*, *zęby*, etc.) show *e*, but the form with the zero ending, where the rule of compensa-

*Reflecting length in *a*, e.g., pronouncing *zna* (he knows), which is contracted from *zna-j-e* (18.3), as [znɔ], is substandard.

†Polish dialects reflect length also before *m* and *n*, but standard Polish leans over backward to avoid *ó* in these positions. Thus comparative evidence leads us to expect the same vowel in "sun" as in *duży*, but "sun" is *słońce*, not "słuńce" or "słóńce"; further, the gen. form of *dwa* (two) is *dwóch*, but the corresponding dat. form *dwóm* is being pushed out by *dwom*.

†Since "soft *r*" is an alveolar sibilant (4.2), a preceding *t* is indistinguishable from *cz*. Therefore the initial consonant here could be represented as *č* or even (assuming the application of 19.54) *k*.

tory lengthening applies, shows **a**: **rząd**, **ząb**. We may regard **a** as the "long nasal vowel" and **ę** as the "short nasal vowel." Since the distribution of **ę** and **a** is solely a reflection of length, the underlying quality of the nasal vowel can only be inferred—from the quality of the preceding consonant. Thus, since **rzędy** ~ **rząd** has a palatalized **r** before the nasal vowel, we posit here a **FRONT** nasal vowel, and since **zęby** ~ **ząb** shows a basic **z**, we posit here a **BACK** nasal vowel. Underlying front and back nasal vowels will be represented as **ę** and **ɔ** respectively. Thus, "teeth" is underlying **zɔb-y**: palatalization does not apply as there are no front vowels, and the rule for short nasal vowels yields **zęby**. In **zɔb-ŭ** compensatory lengthening gives **zɔ̃b-ŭ** or **ząb** ("zomp"). In **rɛd-y** (rows) **r** is palatalized, → **rzɛd-y**, but the nasal vowel is short, → **rzędy** ("žen-dy"); in **rɛd-ŭ** palatalization of the **r** is followed by compensatory lengthening, → **rząd** ("žont").

Exercise. Derive. 1. **dɔb-ŭ** 2. **dɔb-oi** 3. **kseg-y** (gen. sg.) 4. **kseg-ŭ** (gen. pl.) 5. **gɔb-a** 6. **mɔzj-ŭ** 7. **mɔzj-a** (gen. sg.) 8. **petr-o** 9. **gɔs-l** 10. **golɔbj-ŭ**

15.4 There remain a large number of cases where length in the **o** or in a nasal vowel cannot be accounted for by the rule of compensatory lengthening—or by any other known rule. In such cases it is often hard to be sure that the word in question contains a nasal vowel (and not **e** or **o** plus nasal consonant) or that it contains lengthened **o**, spelled **ó** (and not **u**). This can pose spelling problems: "tromba" is spelled with a nasal vowel, **trąba**, but its perfect rhyme "bomba" (bomb) is spelled **bomba**. Similarly, "wru-ći" (he will return) is spelled **wróci**, but the rhyming verb form "żu-ći" (he will throw) is spelled **rzuci**. In many cases, however, the spelling with a nasal vowel or with **ó** can be justified with reference to related words. Thus the root vowel in **trąba** shows alternation in **trębacz** (trumpeter), and **wróci** alternates with **wraca** (he returns), while next to **rzuci** we find **rzuca** (he throws).

16.1 Many Polish words with Greco-Latin roots contain the syllable **ij** (or **yj**). The Polish for Eng. *Bible*, *gymnasium*, *passion*, *station*, and *study* have this syllable following the root. **ij** occurs following labial and velar consonants and **n** and **l**, **yj** following **r** and dental obstruents.

Exercise. Form adjectives from the following by adding **ij** or **yj**, the adjective suffix **in**, and an adjective ending.

1. **bibl-** 2. **stac-** (station) 3. **okaz-** (as in o. *kupno* [bargain])
4. **melod-** 5. **relig-** 6. **rewoluc-** 7. **part-** In the following use

Isk instead of In. 7. **kanad-** 8. **olimp-** 9. **brazyl-** 10. **ros-** (Russia[n]) 11. **indonez-** 12. **belg-** From the following, form diminutive noun forms by adding *ij* or *yj*, plus *ük*, plus the nom. sg. fem. ending. 13. **lin-** (line) 14. **porc-** (portion) 15. **bater-** (battery) 16. **kolon-** (colony) The following noun is neuter (10.2). 17. **rad-** (radio)

16.2 Nouns of Greco-Latin origin are often accented on the third syllable from the end rather than the second, e.g., **matematyka** "ma-te-ma-ty-ka," **fizycy** (physicists) "fi-zy-cy," **uniwersytet** "u-ni-wer-sy-tet."

Exercise. 1. **Afryka** 2. **tematyka** 3. **stylistyka** 4. **rzeczpospolita** (republic; native Polish but likewise 3rd-from-end accent) 5. **okolica** (vicinity; ditto)

16.3 Nouns with *ij* or *yj* preceding the ending, e.g., **stac-yj-a**, **part-yj-a**, **chem-ij-a**, would have, when the ending is monosyllabic, the same third-from-the-end accent, except that *ij* and *yj* GLIDE, i.e., are pronounced together with the following vowel as a single syllable.* As the result of gliding the above forms have regular second-from-the-end accent, and they are spelled **stacja**, **partia**, **chemia**. The same gliding takes place when *ij/yj* occurs before the accent, e.g., in **stac-yj-ami** (instr. pl. of **stacja**) and in **stud-yj-ować** (to study), and these forms are spelled **stacjami**, **studiować**. Gliding does not take place when *ij/yj* is accented, e.g., in **żmija** (viper), **Syjam** (Siam), nor is it reflected in spellings like **żmijami**, **Syjamu**, **syjamski**, etc. Gliding does not take place when *ij/yj* is not followed by a vowel, e.g., in **tradyc-yj-in-y** (traditional) **tradycyjny** and in **stac-yj-ü** (alternate gen. pl. form) **stacyj**. A glided *ij/yj* is spelled *i* except after *c*, *s*, and *z*, where it is spelled *j*.

This spelling rule was promulgated by the Ministry of Religion and Public Education in 1936 and is not consistently implemented in books

*Similarly as Eng. *India* is sometimes pronounced as two syllables rather than three.

printed earlier and in the usage of persons who received their schooling before that date. Exception was made for **c**, **s**, and **z** on account of the difficulties which would be caused by having the same spelling for "ća," "še," and "žo" as for "cja," "sje," and "zjo." In the present system, **nacja**, **nacji**, **nacją** (forms of "nation") are spelled differently from **Nacia**, **Naci**, **Nacją** (forms of "Nat"; 9.8). In the case of **n** ambiguity remains; **dan-ij-a** (Denmark) softens and glides to **dań-j-a** and is spelled **Dania**, whereas a native Polish form like **da-n-ij-a** (courses [of a meal]) softens and contracts (11.22) to **da-ń-a** and is likewise spelled **danía**. There is a similar ambiguity in the case of root-final labial consonants. Native **ziemia** (earth), with its iotated **m** plus **a**, resembles in spelling the borrowing **chemia** (chemistry), which has glided **ij** plus **a**. Because of 11.4, however, the contrast in pronunciation is slight. For practical purposes the only difficulty arises when the ending is **-i**. In native words a single **i** is used for both the softened stem consonant and the ending (3.35-36, 11.4), e.g., **Naci**, **ziemi**, but in borrowings there is one **i** (or **j**) representing **ij/yj** and another **i** for the ending, e.g., **nacji**, **chemii**.

Exercise. Pronounce the following and give the correct spelling. 1. **iluz-yj-e** (illusions) 2. **kop-ij-i** (copy [loc. sg.]) 3. **stud-yj-a** (studies) 4. **bijolog-ij-a** 5. **gimnaz-yj-um** 6. **gen-ij-usz** 7. **nowic-yj-usz** (novice) 8. **terytor-yj-um** 9. **ros-yj-isk-y** (Russian) 10. **Kaliforn-ij-i** 11. **Kaliforn-ij-ük-a** (Californian [fem.]) 12. **dyjabül-ü** (devil) 13. **az-yj-a** (Asia) 14. **asoc-yj-ac-yj-în-y** (associational) 15. **mis-yj-onarz** (missionary)

17.11 Accusative case. In **Staś zna Warszawę** (Stan knows Warsaw), the direct object, **Warszawę**, is marked by the accusative case (cf. nom. **Warszawa**, loc. **Warszawie**). In **Matka kocha syna** (The mother loves her son) and **Brat ma ołówek** (Brother has a pencil), **syna** and **ołówek** are likewise direct objects in the accusative case. (Sentences in Polish may also contain quantified objects, e.g., **Siostra kupi chleba** [Sister will buy some bread; see 23.1] and indirect objects, e.g., **Syn pomaga matce** [The son is helping his mother; see 27.11], which are not in the accusative case.)

17.12 Accusative case occurs also in certain expressions of time and measure: **Czekam już godzinę** (I've been waiting

an hour already), **Paczka waży 2 kg** (The package weighs two kilograms).

17.13 Accusative case occurs in a number of prepositional phrases expressing the goal of movement. For example: **Grześ idzie na lektorat** (Greg is on his way to class; cf. **G. jest na lektoracie**), **Chłop poszedł w pole** (The peasant went into the field; cf. **Chłop pracuje w polu**), **Tata jedzie po lekarza** (Daddy is going for the doctor; cf. **po ulicy**). **Jurek uderzył się o ścianę** (George bumped into the wall). Perhaps psychic movement can be seen in **Piotr prosi o herbatę** (Peter is asking for tea; cf. **Piotr myśli o herbacie** [Peter is thinking about tea]).

17.14 Five prepositions which use instrumental case to express location (**28.14**) use accusative to express movement toward: **nad**, **pod**, **przed**, **za**, and **między**. For example: **Jedziemy nad morze** (We're going to the seashore), **Pies pobeiżył pod stół** (The dog ran under the table), **Idę przed siebie** (I'm walking straight ahead [lit. in front of myself]), **Słońce zaszło za chmurę** (The sun went behind a cloud), **Chłopak skoczył między autobus i tramwaj** (The boy jumped between the bus and the streetcar).

17.15 With **przez** only accusative is used: **przez okno** (through the window), **przez most** (across the bridge), **przeze mnie** (by me; **12.5**).

17.21 Second-declension nouns in the accusative case have the ending **-ę** (underlying **o**; **15.3**): **gazetę**, **matkę**, **ka-wiarnię**, **dozorczynię**, **kolegę**, **dozorcę**, **Kościuszkę**. Exceptionally, the acc. form of **pani** is **panią**. Other nouns in the singular do not have a distinctive accusative form but take an ending which is identical with either the nominative (**9.2**) or the genitive (§**24**) ending.

17.22 For 3rd-declension nouns, 1st-declension neuter nouns, and 1st-declension masculine nouns denoting inanimate things, the accusative form in the singular is the same

as the nominative: **rzecz, powieść, dziecko, mieszkanie, samochód, hotel.**

17.23 For 1st-declension masculine nouns denoting animate beings, the accusative singular ending is that of the genitive singular: **-a**. Thus: **pana, gościa, psa**. This is also the ending of **państwo** (married couple; 12.6) and **książę: państwa, księcia**.*

17.231 Certain inanimate objects are viewed by Polish speakers (for purposes of the acc. sg. form) as animate: mushrooms (**grzyb, rydz**), monetary units (**złoty** [adj.], **rubel** [fleeting e], **dolar**), cigarettes (**papieros** [cigaret], **sport** [a brand]), playing cards (**as** [ace], **walet** [jack]), automobiles (**fiat, ford**). Names of diseases (**rak** [cancer]), dances and games (**walc, tenis**), and certain other vigorous activities (**dać klapsa** [give a spanking], **dać drapak** [run away]) also have the animate accusative form.

17.31 For adjectives, it is again only feminine which has a distinctive acc. sg. ending: **-ą**, as in **dobrą dziewczynkę, moją nową książkę, Marię Skłodowską-Curie**.

For keeping the noun ending **-ę** separate from the adjective ending **-ą**, it is helpful to regard the former, a "short nasal vowel" (§15), as underlying **ɔ** and the latter, a "long nasal vowel," as contracted from underlying **ɔjɔ**. The fem. acc. endings are then parallel to the masc. nom. endings (**ɔ**, underlying **ũ**, for nouns and **-y** for adjectives) and especially to the neut. nom./acc. endings (**-o** for nouns and **-e**, contracted from **oje**, for adjectives).

Adjective endings occur also with pronouns (except 1st- and 2nd-person personal pronouns), with one exception: **ten**, which shows the short. nominal ending in the masc. nom. and in the neut. nom./acc. (**to**), has fem. acc. **tę**—at least in written Polish; in spoken Polish one usually hears the regular adjective form **tą**.

17.32 For adjectives agreeing with masculine and neuter

*This noun, perhaps because of its (former) frequent use in titles, syncope the syllable **-ąż-** when it is not accented. Thus instead of **książę książęcia książęciu** (sometimes used by 19th-century authors), we now find **książę księcia księciu**.

nouns, the accusative form is the same as the nominative, except for masculine nouns denoting animate creatures, for which the genitive form is used; e.g., **dobrego chłopca, starego kolegę**.

17.33 For the 3rd-person pronouns **ona** and **ono**, the endings are added to the oblique-case stem **j-** (12.32): **ją, je**. For **on**, the genitive acc. form is used (**jego** or **go**) regardless of whether what is being referred to is animate or not; thus **Kupiłem go** (I bought it—said with reference to **garnitur** [a suit of clothes]). **Kto** uses the gen. **kogo** in the accusative, **co** the nom. **co**. The 1st- and 2nd-person pronouns have accusative forms identical with the genitive forms; see 24.5.

Exercise. Form sentences with **Mam ...** (I have ...) and the following nominal expressions in the accusative case.

1. **polska książka** 2. **dobre dziecko** 3. **młody syn i śliczna** [lovely] **córka** 4. **nowy fiat** 5. **swój własny kierowca** (my own driver) 6. **ciekawa rzecz** 7. **niespodziewany** (unexpected) **gość** 8. **duże mieszkanie** 9. **czarny garnitur i biała koszula** 10. **mała paczka i ważny** (important) **list** Now go back to 13.4 Ex. and form sentences with **Znam ...**

18.0 Forms of the Polish verb. The verb in Polish has two principal sets of forms: **PRESENT-TENSE FORMS**, which denote events which are on-going or habitual or are expected to take place subsequent to the moment of speech, and **L-FORMS**, which denote events remote from the moment of speech (e.g., preceding it). Present-tense forms comprise a stem and an ending which shows person and number agreement with the subject of the sentence; e.g., (**ty**) **je-sz** ([you] eat), (**my**) **wie-my** ([we] know). **L-forms** comprise a verbal stem, the **l** suffix, and an ending which shows gender and number agreement with the subject of the sentence; e.g., (**oni**) **nieś-l-i** ([they] were carrying), (**ona** **będzie**) **wioz-ł-a** ([she will] be driving [someone]).

18.01 The four verb forms just cited are maximally sim-

ple in structure: the verb ending follows a stem which consists solely of a root. For most Polish verbs, however, the ending is separated from the root by a variety of thematic elements—inserted vowels and consonants. Verbs in Polish are traditionally grouped into classes, called conjugations, according to the vowel which precedes certain of the present-tense endings, i.e., the 2nd sg., 3rd sg., 1st pl., and 2nd pl. Thus we have:

1st Conjugation	2nd Conjugation	3rd Conjugation
(ty) idzi-e-sz	pros-i-sz	koch-a-sz
(on) idzi-e	pros-i	koch-a
(my) idzi-e-my	pros-i-my	koch-a-my
(wy) idzi-e-cie	pros-i-cie	koch-a-cie
(be going)	(request)	(love)

In addition to knowing what thematic elements occur in present-tense forms, it is necessary to know what thematic elements occur in the *l*-forms and in the infinitive form (normally the same for both; see below, §§19, 20).

18.02 Present-tense endings. The person-number endings which occur in present-tense forms may, in general terms, be described as follows:

	Singular	Plural
1st person	nasal element	-my*
2nd person	-sz	-cie
3rd person	zero consonant	nasal element + length

18.111 Among 1st-conjugation verbs, the simplest in structure are the *E/O* VERBS, which have *e* before the ending of the 2nd sg., 3rd. sg., 1st pl., and 2nd pl. forms and have underlying *o* in the 1st sg. and 3rd pl. forms. In the forms with *e* the stem consonant is palatalized (9.4), e.g., (my) *id-e-my* → *idź-e-my idziemy*.

Exercise. For the verb roots below select the person-

*The alternate ending **-m** is sometimes found with verbs which do not have **-m** in the 1st person sg. form (18.3, 18.41, 18.5).

number ending required by the subject, insert the thematic vowel, apply softening rules,* and produce a sentence using the complement provided. 1. (**my**) **ber** (take) (**gazetę**) 2. (**koza** [goat]) **bod** (butt) (**mur** [stone wall]) 3. (**kto**) **bod** (will be; 15.3) (**w domu**) 4. (**nauczyciel**) **za-ćln** (begin [fut.])† (**nową lekcję**) 5. (**ty**) **dłr** (tear) (**suknię**) 6. (**córka**) **dũm** (blow) (**w trąbę** [trumpet]) 7. (**wy**) **głn** (bend; no 9.4) (**palec** [finger]) 8. (**matka**) **gnet** (knead, squeeze) (**ciasto** [dough]) 9. (**pies**) **gryz** (bite, gnaw) (**kość**) 10. (**ty**) **id** (**na uniwersytet**) 11. (**on**) **vũz-łm** (take [fut.]) (**pieniądze**) 12. (**my**) **jęd** (be driving) (**nad Bałtyk**) 13. (**ty**) **klad** (put) (**rzeczy na swoje miejsce** [place]) 14. (**rolnik** [farmer]) **klñn** (curse (**biurokratów**)) 15. (**mrówka** [ant]) **lěz** (crawl) (**po ścianie**) 16. (**wy**) **mog** (be able) (**iść na koncert**) 17. (**syn**) **nes** (be carrying) (**walizkę** [suitcase]) 18. (**pastuch**) **pas** (pasture) (**bydło** [cattle]) 19. (**maszyna**) **per** (launder) (**ubranie** [clothes]) 20. (**ona**) **pek** (bake) (**ciastko** [cake]) 21. (**roślina** [plant]) **pñn** (climb) (**się po murze**) 22. (**my**) **přr** (press) (**naprzód** [forward]) 23. (**dziewczyna** [girl]) **pręd** (spin) (**włókno** [fiber]) 24. (**pani**) **rũv** (tear) (**papier na kawałki** [into pieces]) 25. (**my**) **sęd** (sit down [fut.]) (**na krześle**) 26. (**ojciec**) **streg** (guard, keep) (**tajemnicy** [secret]) 27. (**fryzjer** [barber]) **strig** (cut) (**włosy** [hair]) 28. (**ogrodnik** [gardener]) **tñn** (cut) (**kwiaty** [flowers]) 29. (**zmęczone dziecko**) **tłr** (rub) (**oczy** [eyes]) 30. (**chłopiec**) **tluk** (break) (**jajko** [egg]) 31. (**my**) **tręs** (shake) (**jabłka z drzewa** [apples from the tree]) 32. (**ty**) **ved** (lead) (**spokojne życie** [peaceful life]) 33. (**pani**) **vez** (be conveying) (**dzieci do szkoły**) 34. (**więzień** [prisoner]) **vlek** (drag) (**łańcuch** [chain]) 35. (**my**) **žłn** (reap) (**zboże** [grain])

*The verb-initial consonant in nos. 5, 28, and 29 does not show palatalization; see 20.122.

†Some verbs in the present-tense form have future meaning; this is discussed in 21.01.

‡Some verbs are accompanied by the enclitic particle **się**; see 36.2.

18.112 In the 1st sg. form, thematic *o* combines with the nasal ending to yield a back nasal vowel *ɔ*, which in the absence of length is realized as *-ę*. In the 3rd pl., thematic *o* plus nasal ending also yields a back nasal vowel, but with length it is realized as *-ą* (15.3). Thus for "be going" we have 1st sg. *idę*, 3rd pl. *idą*. Since the stem consonant is followed by an underlying back vowel, it is not palatalized; cf. *idziesz*, *idzie*, *idziemy*, *idziecie*. For verbs in which the stem consonant is a dental and the root vowel is *e* or *ě*, the vowel dispalatalizes to *o* and *a* (§14). Thus *ber* (take) keeps the root vowel unchanged in the 2nd sg.-2nd pl. (*bierzesz*, *bierze*, *bierzemy*, *bierzecie*), but in the 1st sg. and 3rd pl. it is dispalatalized: *biorę*, *biorą*. Similarly, *jěd* (be riding) shows dispalatalization in the 1st sg. and 3rd pl.: *jadę*, *jadą*.

Exercise. Go through the sentences in the preceding exercise using either a 1st sg. subject (*ja*) or a 3rd pl. subject (*oni*, *one*, *państwo*, *chłopcy*, etc.). In no. 11 the *z* is hard before hard *m*; exceptionally no. 15 does not show dispalatalization in the present tense whereas no. 34 does.

18.12 Verbs of the above type are not numerous; the exercise gives an almost exhaustive listing of roots. In most 1st-conjugation verbs there are additional thematic elements between the root and *e/o*. One such element is *n*. *N*-verbs fall into several classes according to their infinitive and *l*-forms (19.4), but they all have similar present-tense forms.

Exercise. Make present-tense sentences as above, inserting *n* after the verbal root and softening where needed.

1. *beg* (be running) (*na dworzec* [station]) 2. *leg* (fall, lie down [fut.]) (*w bitwie* [in battle]) 3. *krad* (*pieniądze*) 4. *pad* (fall [fut.]) (*na łóżko* [bed]) 5. *za-pręg* (harness [fut.]) (*konia* [horse]) 6. *rek* (utter [fut.]) (*słowo* [word]) 7. *rost* (grow; *t* drops) (*szybko* [swiftly]) 8. *pri-sęg* (swear [fut.]) (*wierność* [loyalty])

18.13 The other thematic element commonly found in

present-tense forms of 1st-conjugation verbs is *j*. *J*-verbs fall into several groups. One small group comprises verb roots ending (for the most part) in a high vowel.

Exercise. As above, only with *j*. *pi* (**wódkę**) 2. *bi* (beat) (**przeciwnika** [opponent]) 3. *śy* (sew) (**koszulę** [shirt]) 4. *ży* (live) (**dobrze**) 5. *my* (wash) (**ręce** [hands]) 6. *ču* (feel) (**strach** [fear]) 7. *żu* (chew) (**gumę** [gum]) 8. *pisu* (ruin) (**zdrowie** [health]) 9. *mel* (grind) (**kawę**) 10. *pel* (weed) (**ogród** [garden])

18.14 There are a half-dozen *j*-verbs with roots ending in *e*. *Sme* (laugh) and *de* (happen) are used only with **się**: **Janek się śmieje rzadko** (Johnny laughs seldom), **Co się dzieje?** (What is happening?). The others are *gre* (heat), *le* (pour), *pe* (crow), *se* (sow), *xve* (sway), and *ze* (pant, breathe).

Exercise. Express in Polish. 1. We are laughing. 2. Such things (**takie rzeczy**) seldom happen. 3. The sun (**słońce**) heats. 4. Roosters (**koguty**) crow. 5. We are sowing corn (**kukurydzę**). 6. The wind (**wiatr**) sways the poplars (**topole**). 7. You smell of alcohol (**alkoholem**).

18.15 A somewhat larger group of *j*-verbs comprises verb roots ending in a consonant. Before *j* in present-tense forms this consonant undergoes iotation. For example, *pis* (write) has the present stem *pis-j* **pisz-**: **piszę, piszesz, pisze, piszemy, piszecie, piszą**. Verbs in this group number about 70, not counting prefixed usage.

Exercise. As above. 1. *čerp* (draw) (**wodę**) 2. *čes* (comb) (**włosy**) 3. *dlub* (dig, scrape) (**łódkę z drzewa**) 4. *drap* (scratch) (**skórę** [skin]) 5. *glask* (stroke) (**psa**) 6. *greb* (rummage) (**w kieszeni** [pocket]) 7. *gvizd* (whistle) (**na psa**) 8. *kar* (punish) (**za grzechy** [sins]) 9. *kaz* (command) (**uczniowi wyjść za drzwi** [a pupil to leave the room]) 10. *klam* (lie) (**o wszystkim** [everything]) 11. *kop* (dig) (**dziurę** [hole]) 12. *kōp* (bathe) (**dziecko**) 13. *lam* (break) (**krzesło**) 14. *lap* (catch) (**ryby** [fish]) 15. *liz* (lick) (**talerz** [plate]) 16. *lŭg* (tell lies) (**jak pies**) 17. *maz* (smear) (**ścianę**) 18. *or* (plow) (**ziemię** [earth]) 19. *plak* (cry) **przez**

godzinę) 20. rōb (chop) (**drzewo**) 21. skak (jump) (**do wody**) 22. stel (spread) (**łōżko**) 23. strug (shave, whittle) (**olōwek**) 24. sūl (send) (**list** [letter]) 25. syp (pour [something dry]) (**cukier** [sugar]) 26. tes* (hew) (**drzewo**) 27. vęz (tie) (**chustkę** [kerchief] **na głowie**) 28. xlost (flog) (**lajdaka** [scoundrel])

18.151 *J*-verbs with root-final *t* are exceptional. In addition to the expected iotation of *t* (*c*), they commonly show *cz*.† For example, *šept* (whisper): **szepczę, szepcesz, szepcze, szepczemy, szepczecie, szepczą** (also possible is **szepcę, szepcesz**, etc.). A fair number of the 50 or so verbs in this group are sound-imitative, e.g., **świergocze** (twitters), **turkocze** (rattles along).

Exercise. As above. 1. *kolat* (pound) (**w drzwi**) 2. *dūpūt* (trample) (**kwiaty**) 4. *plēt* (tangle, confuse; *cz* only) (**słowa** [words]) 5. *trepot* (flutter) (**na wietrze** [wind])

18.16 In a large number of 1st-conjugation verbs, thematic *j* is preceded by the diphthongs *ou* and *yu*. Before *j* these diphthongs monophthongize to *-u-*, e.g., **pracuję, pracujesz, pracuje, pracujemy, pracujecie, pracują** (cf. **praca** [work]). Thematic *ou* is common in verbs formed on nominal roots. These may be native Slavic (nos. 1–5 below), Germanic (6–9), international (10–13), and occasionally English (14–15). Thematic *yu* occurs only in prefixed imperfective verb forms; see 21.36.

Exercise. As above, only with *ou* (*-u-*) before *j*. 1. *xor* (be sick; cf. **chory** [sick]) (**na oczy**) 2. *got* (prepare, cook; cf. **gotowy** [ready]) (**obiad**) 3. *kup* (buy) (**jedzenie** [food]) 4. *pan* (master; cf. **pan**) (**nad sytuacją**) 5. *piln* (take care of; soft *l*) (**dzieci**) 6. *bud* (build) (**nowy dom**) 7. *smak* (taste [trans. and intrans.]; cf. **smak** [taste]) (**Jak**

*Dispalatalization (14.1) optional in present-tense forms.

†A widespread feature of Polish dialects in northeastern and southern Poland is **MAZURZENIE**, the substitution of hissing sibilants for hushing sibilants, e.g., pronouncing **szara żaba przeskoczy** (the gray frog will jump over) as “sara zaba pszeskocy.” The substitution of *cz* for *c* in *-tać* verbs may be a hyperliterary pronunciation; cf. 15.2 fn.

panu___**obiad**?) 8. spacer (walk; cf. **spacer** [walk]) (**po Starym Mieście**). 9. stos (employ, use) (**nowe metody**) 10. oper (operate on; hard p) (**chorego**) 11. organiz (organize) (**wycieczkę** [excursion]) 12. rezygn (resign; hard r) (**z posady** [from a position]) 13. stud-yj (study; 16.3; cf. **studia** [studies]) (**matematykę**) 14. doping (cheer, encourage) (**drużynę** [team]) 15. kemping (camp; no 9.2 or 11.22; cf. **kemping** [camping]) (**nad Bałtykiem**)

18.21 2nd-conjugation verbs. Verbs of the 2nd conjugation are characterized by thematic *i* in present tense-forms. This *i* palatalizes the stem consonant: **plat-i-Ø** (pays) → **placi** (pron. "pla-ći"). Where the result of palatalization is phonetically hard (3.20), the *i* is realized as *y*: **mok-i-Ø** (wets) → **moczy**.

Exercise. Form sentences with the following, inserting *i* before endings and using the subjects and complements given. 1. (**ty**) **čyst** (clean) (**zęby** [teeth]) 2. (**pan**) **jězd** (ride) (**co dzień do miasta** [every day to town]) 3. (**wy**) **myśl** (think) (**o czymś przyjemnym** [about something pleasant]) 4. (**my**) **mów** (speak) (**po polsku** [Polish]) 5. (**ty**) **nos** (carry, wear) (**długą suknię**) 6. (**kto**) **plat** (pay) (**za herbatę**) 7. (**uczeń**) **rob** (do, make) (**błędy** [mistakes]) 8. (**dziecko**) **sěd** (sit) (**na krześle**) 9. (**nauczyciel**) **uk** (teach) (**nas języka polskiego** [us Polish]) 10. (**babcia**) **vid** (see) (**źle** [poorly])

18.22 The above exercise is limited to the 2nd sg., 3rd sg., 1st pl., and 2nd pl. forms. This is because the 1st sg. and 3rd pl. forms have a somewhat different structure: not root plus thematic vowel plus nasal element as in **idę** and **idą**, but rather root plus thematic vowel *plus vowel* plus nasal element. The additional vowel means that 2nd-conjugation verbs have 1st sg. and 3rd pl. endings consisting of nasal vowels: *ę, ę̄*. Before these vocalic endings thematic *i* behaves differently than before the remaining, consonantal endings: it GLIDES, i.e., turns into the glide *j*. Thus in **plat-**

i-š the i remains unchanged: **placisz**. But in plat-i- $\bar{q}$, plat-i- $\bar{q}$, i turns into j, thus plat-j- $\bar{q}$, plat-j- $\bar{q}$. This causes iotation in the stem consonant, giving **placę, placą**.^{*} In the case of labials (p, b, f, v, m), velars (k, g, x), and sonorants (r, l, n), iotation gives the same result as palatalization, so that the verb has a unified stem throughout the present tense; e.g., cen (value): **cenię, cenisz, ceni, cenimy, cenicie, cenia**; patr (look): **patrzę, patrzysz, patrzy, patrzymy, patrzycie, patrzą**. But for verb roots ending in a dental obstruent, iotation and palatalization yield different results (9.51), and therefore the 1st sg. and 3rd pl. end up having a different stem from the remaining forms. For example, mus (must): (ty) **musisz**, (on) **musi**, (my) **musimy**, (wy) **musicie**, with stem-final "ś"; but (ja) **muszę**, (oni) **muszą**, with stem-final "sz."

Exercise. Go back to the preceding exercise and form sentences with 1st sg. and 3rd pl. subjects. Also, formulate 3rd sg. questions (**Czy pan/pani ... ?**) calling for 1st sg. answers (**Ja ...**) and 3rd pl. questions (**Czy państwo/panowie/panie ... ?**) calling for 1st pl. answers (**My ...**).

18.221 Stoj (stand) and boj (fear; used only with się) are also 2nd-conj. verbs.

Exercise. Run the following sentences through the present-tense paradigm, remembering to apply rule 12.4. 1. stoj (**na ulicy**) 2. boj (**się Boga**)

18.3 Contract verbs. The 3rd conjugation comprises verbs which differ from 1st-conjugation j-verbs by preceding the j with thematic a. Thus next to 3rd pl. pis-j- $\bar{q}$ (**piszą**) czyt (read) shows the 3rd pl. form czyt-a-j- $\bar{q}$ (**czytają**). Likewise in the other present-tense forms we find underlying czyt-a-j-e-š czyt-a-j-e- $\emptyset$, czyt-a-j-e-my, czyt-a-j-e-te; cf. pis-j-e-š, pis-j-e- $\emptyset$, pis-j-e-my, pis-j-e-te). What is distinctive about 3rd-conjuga-

^{*}A similar process can be observed in English. Compare *society* and *social*: the i of *soci-* turns into j before the vocalic suffix *-al* and changes the [s] of the root to [ʃ].

tion verbs is that the underlying sequence a-j-e in these forms CONTRACTS.* The results, for "read," are **czytasz, czyta, czytamy, czytacie**. The 1st sg. is similar in structure, except that the ending is -m: **czytam**.†

Exercise. Form sentences with the following 3rd-conjugation verbs. 1. **bad** (investigate, examine) (**sprawę** [matter]) 2. **ček** (wait) (**na autobus**) 3. **děl** (act, function) (**w czyimś imieniu**) 4. **gr** (play) (**w karty** [cards]) 5. **kox** (love) (**swoich rodziców** [parents]) 6. **m** (have) (**ochotę na kawę**) 7. **mešk** (live [dwell]) (**w Nowym Jorku**) 8. **pamęt** (remember) (**czyjaś twarz**) 9. **slux** (listen to, obey) (**radia**) 10. **spręt** (sweep) (**pokój** [room]) 11. **šuk** (seek) (**wyjścia** [exit]) 12. **trim** (hold) (**coś w ręku**) 13. **vol** (call) (**chłopców na obiad**) 14. **xov** (put away, hide) (**ręce do kieszeni**)

18.4 Some 1st-conjugation verbs have **ě** preceding **j** in present-tense forms.

Exercise. As above. 1. **bol** (grieve) (**nad czyimś nieszczęściem** [over someone's misfortune]) 2. **ist-ĭn** (exist; cf. **istota** [creature, essence]) (**od dawna** [long]) 3. **mĭdl** (faint; cf. **mdły** [sickly]) (**z głodu** [from hunger]) 4. **šal** (rage, be delirious) (**ze szczęścia**) 5. **tl** (smolder) (**w piecu** [stove])

18.41 There are three verbs in which the underlying sequence **ě-j-e** in present-tense forms contracts to **-e-**: **um** (know how), **rozum** (understand), and **smě** (dare; here **ě** is not thematic but belongs to the root). Like other contract verbs, these have **-m** in the 1st sg. But unlike contract verbs with **a**, these three verbs often contract also in the 3rd pl., so that next to **umieją, rozumieją, śmieją**, we find also **umia, rozumia, śmia** (only the last of these contracted 3rd pl. forms is considered correct, however). The Polish grammatical tradition assigns these verbs to a 4TH CONJUGATION.

*Perhaps thus: assimilation, → a-j-a, loss of j, → a-a, contraction, →-a-.

†**Zna** (know), in which the **a** belongs to the root (18.13), also contracts: **znam, znasz, zna, znamy, znacie, znają**.

Exercise. Run the following sentences through the present-tense paradigm. 1. um (**plywać** [swim]) 2. rozum (**po polsku**) 3. (**nie**) smé (**to zrobić** [do that]; s softens)

18.5 Three irregular verbs, da(d) (give [fut.]), jěd (eat), and věd (know), show thematic i (reflected as iotation) in the 3rd pl. (**dadzą, jedzą, wiedzą**) but a truncated root in the 2nd sg.-2nd pl. (**dasz, da, damy, dacie; jesz, je, jemy, jecie; wiesz, wie, wiemy, wiecie**) and -m in the 1st sg. (**dam, jem, wiem**). Věd is used with no direct object (**Wiem o tym, Wiem, że ...**) and with **co** and **nic** (**Nic nie wiem o tym**); zna is used with other objects (**Znam pana, Znam Kraków**). Um is "know how" (**Umiem pływać**).

Exercise. Run the above sentences through the present-tense paradigm. Also **Jem obiad** and **Dam sobie radę** (I'll manage).

19.0 Infinitives. The infinitive form of the verb names the event in general terms, without specifying tense or showing person, number, and gender agreement. It is used in construction with modal verbs, e.g., **Muszę iść** (I must go), **Zaczyna padać** (It's beginning to rain), as well as in nominalizations like **Pływać jest przyjemnie** (Swimming is pleasant). With **będę, będziesz**, etc., it is an alternate way of expressing future tense; see 20.0. The infinitive ending is ti, which with one exception (19.51) is realized as -ć.

19.1 -ać. The infinitive ending is preceded by thematic a in 3rd-conjugation verbs and in those given in 18.15-16: **czytać, pisać, szeptać, pracować**. (Note that thematic ou is realized as -ow- in the latter class.)

Thus some 1st-conjugation verbs in the infinitive form are identical in structure to 3rd-conjugation verbs. Therefore the infinitive, the traditional name form by which the verb is cited in dictionaries, does not suffice for distinguishing the two classes of verbs. Additional information must be known, either the number of the conjugation class (**pisać I, czytać III**) or else some of the present-tense forms (**pisać, piszę, piszesz; czytać, czytam, czytasz**). There is also a newer tradition of presenting the verb in terms of the stem, either of the infinitive or of

the 3rd pl. present, which is longer and gives more information about the paradigm; for 3rd-conjugation verbs this the stem of the 3rd pl. form (**czytaj-**; cf. the infinitive stem **czyta-**), while for 1st-conjugation verbs with thematic *a* it is the stem of the infinitive (**pisa-**; cf. the 3rd pl. stem **pisz-**). Alternatively, we could mark **pis** as having thematic *a* only in the infinitive (**pis** + *a*/INF—see 19.11) and mark **čyt** as having thematic *a* generally (**čyt** + *a*). Since verbs with thematic *ou* (18.16) regularly follow verbs like **pis** in matching thematic *a* with thematic *j* (**pracować** ~ **pracuję** like **pisać** ~ **piszę**), such verbs need only be marked +*ou*, e.g., **stos** +*ou* (**stosować**, **stosuję**).

19.11 Thematic *a* in the infinitive regularly corresponds to thematic *j* in the present tense. Therefore verbs which do not show this correspondence must be treated as irregular.

Xūt (want) shows *j* in the present (**chcę**, **chcesz**, **chce**, etc.) but has *č*, not *a*, in the infinitive: **chcieć**. Several *e/o* verbs (18.11) have *a* in the infinitive although they do not have *j* in the present: **rūv** (tear), **sūs** (suck), **zūv** (call). This is true also of **ber** (take) and **per** (launder), and these two verbs show a different vowel in the infinitive, **bīr-a-ti**, **pīr-a-ti** (**brać**, **prać**). This root-vowel irregularity is shared by **stel** (spread), which has present forms **stel-j-o**, **stel-j-e-š**, etc. (**ścieleć**, **ścielesz**) and infinitive **stl-a-ti** (**ślać**). **Jēd** (be riding), which has no *j* in the present, has *a* in the infinitive, but it is preceded by a different consonant: **jechać**. One 2nd-conj. verb, **špieć**, **špiesz**, **špi**, etc. (sleep), has *a* in the infinitive: **spać**.

Exercise. Go through the exercises of 18.15–16 and 18.3 forming infinitive phrases. No 14.1 in nos. 1 and 2 of 18.15.

19.12 The verbs in 18.14 have *a* in the infinitive: **ve-a-ti** (to blow). These infinitive forms contract: **wiać**. Other contracted infinitives are the two 2nd-conj. verbs in 18.221, **stać** and **bać się** (contracted from **stoj-a-ti**, **boj-a-ti**).*

19.2 -eć. The infinitive ending is preceded by thematic *č* in the 1st-conjugation verbs mentioned in 18.4–41 (e.g.,

*The correspondence, 2nd-conj. present ~ *a* in infinitive, is irregular. These verbs could be regularized by the assumption that thematic *a* is underlyingly thematic *č* (cf. 19.21) which has shifted to *a* under the influence of preceding *j*. Such a vowel shift is needed to account for 2nd-conj. **sk-č-ti** (urinate [vulg.]).

szaleć) and also in a number of 2nd-conjugation verbs (e.g., **myśleć, siedzieć, widzieć**). Likewise in *m* (have) **mieć**, **wéd** (know) **wiedzieć**, and *vr* (boil) **wrzeć**.

Starting from the infinitive, additional information is needed for distinguishing these two types, either **szaleć** I vs. **myśleć** II or **szaleć, szaleję, szalejesz** vs. **myśleć, myślę, myślisz**. Presenting these verbs in terms of a single stem, we would cite the 3rd pl. stem (**szalej-**) for the 1st-conj. verbs and the infinitive stem (**myśle-**) for the 2nd-conj. verbs; cf. the shorter stems **szale-**, **myśl-**. Alternatively, we could mark the 1st-conj. verbs +*é* and the 2nd-conj. verbs +*é*/INF, on the grounds that verbs with *é* only in the infinitive regularly have *i* in the present.

Exercise. Go through the exercises of 18.4–41 forming infinitive phrases; likewise nos. 3, 8, and 10 of 18.21 Ex.

19.21 Among verbs with *é* in the infinitive, 1st-conjugation verbs can be sometimes distinguished from 2nd-conjugation by meaning. Many of the +*é* 1st-conj. verbs are formed with adjective roots and mean “become X,” e.g., **starzeć, starzeję, starzejesz**, etc. (grow old; cf. **stary** [old]). And many +*é*/INF 2nd-conj. verbs are formed with roots denoting sounds, e.g., **krzyczeć, krzyczę, krzyczysz**, etc. (shout; cf. **krzyk** [a shout]). There remain of course many cases where this does not work; thus the root **bol** (pain) underlies 1st-conj. **boleć, boleję** (grieve) and also 2nd-conj. **boleć, boli** (hurt), as in **Matkę boli głowa**.

Exercise. Give present-tense forms (1st- or 2nd-conjugation) for the following infinitives. 1. **szumieć** (cf. **szum** [roar]) 2. **siwieć** (cf. **siwy** [gray (of hair)]) 3. **ładnieć** (cf. **ładny**) 4. **wrzeszczeć** (cf. **wrzask** [scream]) 5. **drożeć** (cf. **drogi** [expensive])

19.3 -ić/-yć. Except for those which have *é*, 2nd-conjugation verbs have thematic *i* in the infinitive: **czyścić, jeździć, uczyć**.

Exercise. Go through 18.21 Ex., except for nos. 3, 8, and 10, forming infinitive phrases.

19.31 As for predicting the occurrence of *é* or *i* in the infinitive, among 2nd-conjugation verbs there are still traces of the old opposi-

tion between intransitive verbs with *ę* and transitive verbs with *i*; e.g., *leżeć* (lie), *siedzieć* (sit), *wisieć* (hang [intrans.]) vs. *położyć* (lay), *sadzić* (set), *powiesić* (hang [trans.]). This opposition survives in the opposition of transitive *-ić* verbs and intransitive *-eć* verbs of the 1st conjugation; e.g., *ocalić* (save), *złocić* (gild) vs. *ocaleć* (survive), *złociec* (glitter) (cf. *cały* [whole], *złoty* [gold]).

19.4 -nąć. Verbs having *n* before *e/o* in the present-tense forms (18.12) fall into three classes. A handful of them (all given in 18.12 Ex.) have no corresponding thematic element in the infinitive and *l*-forms, and the infinitive forms of these verbs are treated below in 19.51–52. The majority, which fall into two classes according to their *l*-forms (20.3), have *n* also in the infinitive, and this *n* is followed by the back nasal vowel *ɔ*. The realization of this *ɔ* (as *-ą-*) is governed by the following rule: the vowel preceding the infinitive ending always reflects length where possible. This applies not only to thematic *ɔ* in *-nąć* verbs, but it also accounts for *-ą-* (rather than *-ę-*) and *-ó-* (rather than *-o-*) in verbal roots (see 19.51–53).

Verbs which have *n* only in the present tense may be distinguished from *-nąć* verbs by marking the former *+n/PRES* and the latter simply *+n*.

19.50 Of the verbs which have no thematic elements in the infinitive, those with roots ending in a vowel are straightforward: *da* (give) *dać*, *zna* (know) *znać*, *pi* (drink) *pić*.

19.51 For verbs ending in a velar stop (*k*, *g*), the velar combines with the infinitive ending to give the equivalent of a iotated *t*: *pek-ti* (to bake) *piec*. In *mog-ti* (to be able) rule 19.4 applies: *móc*.

19.52 For verbs ending in a dental stop (*t*, *d*), the stop becomes continuant: *jéd-ti* (to eat) *jeść*. Dental continuants are assimilated to the infinitive ending with respect to voicing and softness, except that for root-final *z* voicing assimilation is not reflected in the spelling: *lêz-ti* *leżeć*.

19.53 For verbs ending in a nasal, before the infinitive ending the vowel+nasal of the root becomes a nasal vowel, a front nasal vowel (*ɛ*) if the root vowel is front and a back nasal vowel (*ɔ*) if the root vowel is back. According to 19.4, these nasal vowels are both realized as *-ą-*. E.g.: *dŭm-ti* (to blow) → *dɔ-ti* *dać*; *tŭn-ti* (to cut) → *tɛ-ti* *ciąć*.

19.54 For verbs ending in a liquid (*r*, *l*), before the infinitive ending the liquid metathesizes with the preceding vowel. E.g.: *mel-ti* (to grind) **mleć**. This applies to only nine verbs, all of which show a different root vowel in the infinitive from that found in other forms. These verbs (citing them in the infinitive stem) are *mel* (grind), *pel* (weed), *der* (tear), *mer* (die), *per* (press), *ster* (spread; occurs only with prefixes in *rozfi-po-ster*), *ter* (rub), *ver* (turn, move; occurs only prefixed, e.g., *zav-er* [enclose]), and *zer* (devour; *r* remains hard).

Exercise. Form infinitives from the verbs in 18.111 Ex. and 18.12 Ex. In 18.111 Ex. omit nos. 1, 3, 12, 19, and 24, which are covered by different rules. For no. 11 *vŭz-lm* (take) note that *lm* goes to *ę* by rule 19.53 before *ŭ* can go to *e* by rule 10.3.* No. 7, *gln* (bend), does not undergo 9.4, but it does undergo 11.22.

20.0 L-forms. The *l*-form of the verb, which signals the remoteness of the event from the moment of speech, is used with forms of the copula **być**. With the future-tense† forms **będe**, **będziesz**, **będzie**, etc. is formed the so-called future periphrastic of the verb (see 20.4 Ex. and cf. 21.01). With present-tense forms of **być**, the event is understood as occurring prior to the moment of speech (20.5).

20.1 With few exceptions (see below) the *l*-form has the same thematic structure as the infinitive. It takes an ending which shows agreement in number and gender with the subject of the sentence. These are the shorter endings occurring with nouns, rather than the longer endings occurring with adjectives (see 11.22 fn.):

Singular		Plural	
Masc. <i>ŭ</i>	Neut. -o	Fem. -a	Male Persons -i Other -y

20.11 In word-final position *ŭ* is phonetically zero (see 10.3), so that the masc. sg. *l*-form (-*l*) differs from the remaining forms (-*lo*, -*ła*, -*li*, -*ły*), which all end in vowels. Before -*l* in the masc. sg. form compensatory lengthening

*This verb optionally has the infinitive ending *sti*: **wziąć** (possibly because Polish speakers analyze forms like **paść** and **gnieść** as *pa-sti* and *gne-sti*, rather than as *pad-ti* and *gnet-ti*, as proposed here).

†Actually, perfective; see 21.01.

takes place (§14). This applies notably to *n*-verbs: **krzyknęło, krzyknęła, krzyknęli, krzyknęły**, but **krzyknął** (see 5.1 for pronunciation). It also applies when a verb root with a nasal vowel or with *o* is followed immediately by the *l*-form endings: **trzęsła ~ trząsł, niosła ~ niósł**; compare **rzędy ~ rząd, kościoły ~ kościół**.

Exercise. Form masc. and fem. sg. *l*-forms. 1. mog (can; 4.13) 2. bod (butt) 3. nes (be carrying; 15.21) 4. ved (be leading) 5. dŭm (blow) 6. tręs (shake) 7. tęg (pull; +n) 8. to (drown; +n) 9. tŭn (cut) 10. vez (be conveying)

20.111 The masc. sg. *l*-form has a distinctive shape also in the few cases where the verb root has *l* or *ċ*. This concerns chiefly **šĭd**,* which functions as the *l*-form stem for **išċ** (be going); thus we have **šĭd-l-ŭ szedł**, but **šĭd-l-a szła, šĭd-l-i szli**, etc. (with simplification of the **šĭl** cluster). Similarly for **sŭx** (dry): **sechł**, but **schła, schli**, etc.†

20.12 The male-personal *l*-form with its soft *l* (**-li**) differs from the remaining *l*-forms, which have hard *l* (**-ł, -ło, -ła, -ły**). Before hard *l* dispalatalization takes place (14.2). This concerns chiefly the **ě** of **-eć** verbs; thus **mieć, mieli**, but **miał, miało, miała, miały**. It occurs also in verb roots, where **ě** shifts to **-a-** and **e** to **-o-** before a dental consonant: **leźć, leźli**, but **lazł, lazło, lazła, lazły**; **nieść, nieśli**, but **niósł, niosło, niosła, niosły**.

Exercise. Give the male-personal (**-li**) and other (**-ły**) plural *l*-form. 1. vez 2. nes 3. šĭd 4. blĕd (turn pale) 5. met (sweep) 6. vid (+ĕ/INF) 7. ved (lead) 8. gręz (bog down) 9. sĕd (sit down) 10. jĕd (eat)

20.121 For the verbs with root-final *e* and thematic *a* in the infinitive stem (18.14), the vowel resulting from the contraction of *e-a* optionally behaves like **ě**. **le-a-l-i** (they poured) **lali** or **leli**.

20.122 In **nieśli** the *s* softens by assimilation to soft *l*, and this is why root *e* does not dispalatalize to **-o-** in this form. Likewise in **leźli**. But there are other verbs showing this pattern of vowel alternation

*The underlying form of **šĭd** is actually **xĭd**; see 21.31.

†Also **schnął**; see 20.31.

where the distribution of dispalatalization is less clear. Thus we find *jeść*, *jadł*, *jadło*, *jadła*, *jadły*, but *jedli*, and *gnieść*, *gniótił*, *gniotło*, *gniotła*, *gniotły*, but *gnietli*, with no dispalatalization in *jedli* and *gnietli* even though these forms have the same *d* and *t* as the forms with dispalatalization. These facts call for a more detailed presentation of the process of palatalization. The table in 9.4 merely summarizes the results of palatalization without separating the stage of the process which all consonants share (stage 1) from the stage wherein individual groups of consonants differ (stage 2). Stage 1 is the superimposition on the articulation of the consonant of high front tongue position, which might be symbolized with the help of an apostrophe: $p \rightarrow p'$ $m \rightarrow m'$, $t \rightarrow t'$, $z \rightarrow z'$, $r \rightarrow r'$, etc. Stage 2 of palatalization varies for various groups of consonants. For labial consonants see 11.4. For *s*, *z*, and *n* stage 2 increases the area of contact between the tongue and the roof of the mouth; see 3.31. For *l* see 4.11. For *t*, *d*, and *r*, stage 2 adds a sibilant element, resulting in "é" and "dž" in the case of *t* and *d* (3.331) and in *rz* ("ž" or "sz") in the case of *r*. For *t*, *d*, and *r*, stage 2 of palatalization is blocked when a dental consonant follows. Thus in *jéd-l-i* *l* softens before *i* and *d* undergoes softening (stage 1) by assimilation, $\rightarrow jéd'-l'-i$. Before *d'*, *é* does not dispalatalize. Before the dental *l'*, *d'* does not undergo stage 2 softening and subsequently loses also stage 1 softening, $\rightarrow jedli$.^{*} An example with *r* is *wierny* (faithful; cf. *wiara* [faith]); underlying *vér-in-y* undergoes stage 1 softening, $\rightarrow v'ér'-in-y$; *é* fails to dispalatalize to -a- before *r'*; next *i* drops, $\rightarrow v'ér'-n-y$, and *r'* fails to go to *rz* because it is followed by a dental, $\rightarrow wierny$.[†]

20.2 The verbs in 19.54 show a different root vowel in the *l*-forms from that found in the infinitive. Whereas the infinitives have *e*, the *l*-form stem has underlying *i*: *młl*, *płl*, *dłr*, *młr*, *płr*, *stłr*, *łłr*, *vłr*, *žłr*. This *i* shifts to *e* in the roots with *l* and to *a* in the roots with *r*; in neither case does *i* soften the preceding consonant. Thus for *mleć* the *l*-forms are *mell*, *mello*, *mella*, *melli*, *melly*, and for *dłr* they are *darł*, *darlo*, *darła*, *darli*, *darly*.

20.3 *N*-verbs, i.e., those with infinitives in -*nać*, in some cases have *nq* also in the *l*-forms and in other cases do not.

^{*}For the irregularly dispalatalized *e* in the optional forms *włóki*, *włokło*, *włokia*, *włokly* (next to *wleki*, etc.; inf. *wlec* [drag]), cf. the optional present-tense forms *włokę*, *włoka* (next to *wlekę*, *wleka*).

[†]This is the development of *r'* in position after a vowel. After a consonant it is sometimes different, e.g., *wietrzny* (windy; cf. *wiatr*) *chrztu* (gen. sg. of *chrzest* [christening]).

The most general rule is that *n* occurs in the *l*-forms of verbs which can be used perfectly without a prefix and does not occur in the *l*-forms of those which cannot;* see 21.12. Hence **kopnąć, kopnął, kopnęła** (kick) but **ślepnąć, ślepl, ślepla** (go blind).

Individual exceptions to this rule are **tęg** (pull), which has *l*-forms **ciagnął, ciagnęła** although it is imperfective, and **pęk** (burst), which has *l*-forms **pękł, pękła** although it is perfective.

20.31 Systematic exceptions to the rule are of two kinds. First, verbs ending in a vowel—**gy** (perish), **plo** (flame), **ply** (float), **su** (glide), **to** (drown), and **xlo** (absorb)—and verbs with no vowel (other than *i* or *u*)—**rznąć**, (cut) **snąć** (die [said of fish]), **brnąć** (trudge)—both of which show *n* in the *l*-forms: **ginał, ginęła; płynął, płynęła; brnął, brnęła** (except that **schnąć** [dry] has **sechl, schła**). Second, most verbs with monosyllabic (or asyllabic) roots show *n* optionall in the masc. sg. *l*-form. This gives it more phonetic substance; cf. **ślepl**, pron. “ślep” (4.13), and **ślepnął**.

20.4 Gender in the plural. For purposes of subject-predicate agreement, plural noun phrases in Polish are divided into those which denote male persons or mixed groups including male persons and those which denote pluralities which do not include male persons. For example:

Male-Personal

Other†

oni, panowie, koledzy, ludzie (people), **państwo, Maria i Jan Potoccy** (i.e., **Maria Potocka i Jan Potocki**), **Kasia, Isia i Bobek, my** (male persons referred to), **wy** (ditto)

one, panie, koleżanki, osoby (persons), **dzieci, Kasia i Isia, my** (no male persons referred to), **wy** (ditto), **konie, stoły, miasta, Katowice, poljcia**

*This rule is hard to apply in the case of verbs which never occur without a prefix; **odgadnąć, odgadła** (guess) and **zgadnąć, zgadła** (guess) are probably irregular.

†These two categories are also called VIRILE/NONVIRILE and PERSONAL/IMPERSONAL. In Polish they are called **męskoosobowy** and **rzeczowy**.

Exercise. Form future-tense sentences using some of the above noun phrases (not **my** or **wy**), **będą**, the appropriate *l*-form of the following verbs, and the complement given. 1. **mog** (**iść na film**) 2. **séd** (+*ě*/INF) (**w drugim rzędzie** [in the second row]) 3. **mešk** (+*a*) (**w Warszawie**) 4. **mōv** (+*i*) (**po polsku**) 5. **m** (have; +*ě*/INF) (**czas na herbatę**) 6. **šíd** (20.111) (**naprzód** [ahead]) 7. **pis** (+*a*/INF) (**listy do rodziców**) 8. **čyt** (+*a*) (**powieść**) 9. **xūt** (+*ě*/INF) (**iść do domu**) 10. **jéd** (**śniadanie**) [breakfast]) Now use the same verb phrases with the subjects **ja**, **ty**, **on**, **ona**, **my**, **wy**, making the copula agree for number and *person* and the *l*-form agree for number and *gender*.

20.5 The present-tense forms of the copula **być** which are used with *l*-forms to refer to past events are these:

	Singular	Plural
1st person	-(e) m	-(e) šmy
2nd person	-(e) š	-(e) ście
3rd person	—	—

As the hyphens indicate, these are not independent words but enclitic particles, which always occur following some independent, accented word in the sentence (and are written together with it). E.g.: **Jużem to zrobił** (I've already done it), **Gdzieżeście byli?** (Where were you?). The parenthesized **-e-** is used when the verbal particle follows a word ending in a consonant; after a vowel it does not occur; e.g., **Zawszem to robił** (I always did that), **Gdzieście byli?** In the 3rd person, where there is no verbal particle, use of a 3rd-person pronoun is normal: **Ona to widziała**. In the 1st and 2nd persons the pronoun is normally omitted—**Widziałeś to** (You saw that)—although it may be retained for emphasis: **Tyś to widziała?** (You saw that?). Thus the pronoun is optional but the verbal particle is obligatory; one says **Myśmy tam byli** or **Byliśmy tam**, but not ***My tam byli**. As in the future periphrastic, the *l*-form reflects the number and gender of the subject, while the verbal particle reflects its person and num-

ber. **Będziesz wiedziała** and **Wiedziałaś** both indicate a singular addressee (-sz, -ś) who is female (-ła), while in **Będziemy czekali** and **Czekaliśmy** we have plural speakers (-my, -śmy) which include male persons (-li). The occurrence of the verbal particle following the first accented word of the clause is common in spoken Polish, more so in southern Poland (Cracow) than in the north (Warsaw). However, it is more common for the verbal particle to be attached to the *l*-form: **Zawsze to robiłem, Gdzie byliście? Ty to wiedziałaś?**

Exercise. Rewrite the following sentences attaching the verbal particle to the *l*-form. 1. **Dawnośmy go nie widzieli.** 2. **Gdzieś był?** 3. **Czegoście się bały?** 4. **Myśmy nic o tym nie wiedzieli.** 5. **Cóżeś zrobiła?** 6. **Wczorajśmy byli na koncercie.***

20.51 The combination *l*-form + verbal particle constitutes a word for purposes of some rules but not others. The stress rule, which accents the next-to-last syllable, treats the *l*-form and the particles **-em** and **-eś** as a single word; **robiłem, siedziałeś** stress the middle syllable, cf. **robił, siedział** with initial stress. With the plural particles **-śmy** and **-ście** pronunciation varies. The norm calls for the exclusion of the particle from the domain of the stress rule, thus accenting **mówiliśmy, pracowaliście**, etc. on the same syllable as **mówili, pracowali**. Among younger speakers there is a tendency to include the particle and accent **mówiliśmy, pracowaliście** on the next-to-last syllable.

20.511 On this point there are regional differences among educated speakers. In the south (Cracow) the verbal particles in general enjoy a greater mobility in the sentence, i.e., follow the *l*-form less often, than in the north (Warsaw). Hence in the south **mówiliśmy** and **pracowaliście** are more often accented on **-wi-** and **-wa-**. Even singular forms like **przyniosłem** may be treated as word plus enclitic rather than as a single word, not only for stress placement and compensatory lengthening but also for purposes of 4.13 and 2.6. In scattered other

*j is a vowel for purposes of -e-.

localities speakers reinforce the verbal particle by attaching it to **że**: **Chodził żem do kościoła** for **Chodziłem do kościoła**. This is not considered correct.

20.52 For compensatory lengthening, the rule is that **-em** and **-eś** are part of the word for purposes of the **-o- ~ -ó-** alternation but not for purposes of the **-ę- ~ -ą-** alternation. Thus **mogłem** and **niosłeś** show the same root vowel as **mogła** and **niosła**, differing from **mógł** and **niósł**. With regard to **wziął ~ wzięła**, **krzyknął ~ krzyknęła**, the addition of **-em** and **-eś** does not affect the choice of nasal vowel: **wziąłem, krzyknąłeś**. In view of identical stress on masculine and feminine forms in the 1st and 2nd persons, and because of rule 5.1, the contrast between masculine and feminine forms hinges on the final two vowels: "**wżo-łem**" vs. "**wże-łam**," "**kszyk-no-leś**" vs. "**kszyk-ne-łaś**." There is a tendency especially with root nasal vowels to forego compensatory lengthening before **-em** and **-eś**, pronouncing **trzęsłem, przysięgłeś** instead of **trząsłem, przysiągłeś**. This is regarded as substandard.

Exercise. Go through the exercises in §18 and following 20.4 and rewrite the sentences in the past tense.

20.53 The verbal particles do not condition fronting in velar stops (11.22): **Takem powiedział** (That's what I said), pronounced "ta-kem," not "ta-kiem."

21.0 Verbal aspect. Verbs in Polish often occur with a prefix, e.g., **Wkręciłem żarówkę** (= *I screwed in the bulb*). In the Polish sentence the prefix **w-** expresses the same directional meaning as the particle *in* in the English sentence. Besides expressing direction, **w-** and *in* affect the ASPECT of the verb: the combination of verb plus prefix/particle specifies the completion of the action and may be said to have PERFECTIVE aspect. The aspectual properties of verbs are reflected in the various time expressions with which they occur. Perfective verbs can occur with phrases which encapsulate the time spent in completing the action, e.g., **Wkręci-**

łem żarówkę w trzy sekundy (= *I screwed the bulb in in three seconds*). Imperfective verbs can occur with expressions of duration, e.g., **Kręciłem żarówkę przez trzy sekundy** (= *I turned the bulb for three seconds*). But not vice versa. Aspect is independent of tense; the same meaning of completion is expressed by **Wkręcę żarówkę** (= *I'll screw in the bulb*).

The similarities between Polish and English should not be overstated, however. Aspectual meaning in English, when it can be detected, is a feature of individual items. Thus *convince* and *refute* may be said to be perfective in meaning, while *urge* and *controvert* respectively express more or less the same meanings imperfectively.

In Polish the perfective/imperfective opposition pervades the entire verbal system. In most cases one and the same prefix-verb combination occurs both perfectively and imperfectively.* Thus, rather than a lexical feature of Polish verbs, aspect is a feature for which verbs are inflected.

21.01 The completion of action specified by a perfective verb form may be prior to the moment of speech, as in **Wkręciłem żarówkę**, or not. When it is not, when the perfective verb form has a present-tense ending as in **Wkręcę żarówkę**, the completion of the action is subsequent to the moment of speech: the present tense of perfective verb forms normally expresses future meaning. Secondly, since perfective verb forms present the action as completed—summarized, encapsulated, and viewed in its entirety—they are incompatible with auxiliary verbs which refer to phases of the action. Thus **zaczynam** (I am beginning to ...), **kończyłem** (I was finishing ...), **będę** (I will be ...) cannot be followed by a perfective infinitive, only by an imperfective infinitive.

*Verbs denoting states and relationships, e.g., "have," "exist," "belong," are inherently imperfective and normally do not occur perfectively. On the other hand there are prefix-verb combinations which occur only perfectively. This may be conditioned by the meaning of the prefix (21.21, 21.42) or by the idiosyncracies of individual verb roots (e.g., *tłumaczyć* [explain], *tonąć* [drown], and *trwać* [last] never undergo imperfectivization [21.30]).

Future tense in Polish is expressed either by **będę, będziesz**, etc. plus imperfective verb form (*l*-form or infinitive) or by a present-tense perfective verb form.

Exercise. Form future-tense sentences using the following perfv./imperf. verb pairs. 1. **wkręcić/wkręcać** **żarówkę** 2. **napisać/pisać** (**list do kolegi**) 3. **zobaczyć/widzieć** (**see**) (**nowy włoski film**) 4. **wziąć/brać** (**taksówkę** [taxi]) 5. **obejrzeć** (**ě/INF**)/**oglądać** (**examine**) (**wystawę** [display]) 6. **włożyć/wkładać** (**+a**) (**insert**) (**papiery do teczki** [papers into a briefcase]) 7. **powiedzieć/mówić** (**prawdę**)

21.11 The expression of perfective aspect normally requires a prefix; most verbs cannot be used perfectly without one. There are a dozen and half individual exceptions to this rule and also a class of exceptions.

The individual exceptions, grouped by thematic elements, are these: **da(d)** (give; see 18.5); **ofer** (present; +cu); **pad** (fall; +n/PRES); with +i only in perfective use, **kup** (buy), **skok** (jump), and **xvyt** (grab); with +i generally (21.35), **pust** (let go), **ran** (wound), **rjut** (throw), **ruх** (move), **staré** (suffice), **stav** (report; only with **się**), **stōp** (step), **strél** (shoot), **traf** (hit the mark), **trōt** (nudge), * **vrōt** (return [intrans.]), **xyb** (miss). The list is shrinking; **stav** occurs only with **się** and **stōp** only in set phrases; **pad** as often as not is used with the empty prefix **u-**. The list could be extended by including prefix-verb combinations in which the verb never occurs without that prefix, e.g., **obiecać** (promise), **otworzyć** (open), **zobaczyć** (see).

Exercise. 1. **kup nowego fiata** (We bought a new Fiat) 2. **Nie ruх stąd** (I won't budge from here) 3. **Czy pani traf do nas?** (Will you find your way to our place?) 4. **da mu odpowiedź** (We gave him our answer) 5. **ofer im butelkę wina** (She presented them with a bottle of wine) 6. **vrōt za chwilę** (I'll be back in a moment) 7. **Jan rjut piłkę do siatki** (J. threw the ball into the net)

21.12 *N*-verbs which denote actions occur perfectly without a prefix; *n*-verbs which denote states do not (cf. 20.3). Thus **kopnąć** (kick) is perfective and **ślepnąć** (go blind) is imperfective.

*Perfective as an actional verb; as a stative verb, e.g., **trącić alkoholem** (smell of alcohol), it is imperfective; cf. 21.12.

The greater part of *n*-verbs falls into two clearly contrasting classes, ACTIONAL verbs denoting movements* or noises and STATIVE verbs denoting states or changes of state. Verbs in the latter class include brak (be lacking), gas (be extinguished), gy (perish), klęsk (subside; k drops), kwit (bloom), marz (freeze; pron. "marz," not "maż"), līg (sink), mierz (grow dark; r softens), nik (disappear), pło (flame), rost (grow; t drops), sly (be famous), styg (cool), to (drown), vęd (fade), zęb (be chilled). The membership of an *n*-verb in this class is clearest when there exists a related adjective; thus for blednąć (or bladnąć), brzydnąć, cichnąć, głuchnąć, gorzknąć, mięknąć, rzednąć (or rzadnąć), schnąć, and słabnąć, cf. blady (pale), brzydki (ugly), cichy, głuchy (deaf), gorzki (bitter), miękki (soft), rzadki (thin), suchy (dry), and słaby (weak). Stative verbs tend to be intransitive; dūx (breathe) is usually stative, hence imperfective, but used transitively, e.g., **tchnąć nowe życie w instytucję** (breathe new life into an institution), it is perfective. Conversely, **sunąć** without a prefix is no longer paired with **suwać** (push); it now means "glide," is intransitive and imperfective. Therefore gar (hug, gather), (r)ż (cut; i.e., **rznąć** or **rznać**), and **tęg** (pull) are exceptional—actional and transitive, but imperfective. Actional verbs are normally represented by two sets of forms, perfective +n forms and imperfective forms which are +a or, less commonly, *ē*/INF. Actional verbs with both +n and +a forms include cof (draw back), dwig (raise; d softens), kyx (sneeze), max (wave), płx (shove), tisk (throw),† and tūk (touch; 21.331), zgrit (rasp). Actional verbs with both +n and +*ē*/INF forms include jęk (moan), krik (shout), piśk (squeal; k drops before n), ryk (roar), and vrėsk (scream; k drops before n). Some verbs have all three sets of forms: blysk (flash; k drops before n), drūg (flinch), klęk (kneel). It is thus consistent with their meaning that cux (smell) and pux (swell) have imperfective *n*-forms (and no +a or +*ē*/INF forms), whereas bux (burst) and grux (coo, resound) have perfective *n*-forms and imperfective +a forms. Sta (stand), sęd (sit), and by (be) are multiply exceptional; despite stative meaning they have perfective *n*-forms (in the case of by, only in the present), and thematic *n* is inserted after the root vowel: sta-*n*-q **stanę** (see also 21.343), sē-*n*-d-q (**siądę**; not in *l*-forms: **siadł**, **siedli**), by-*n*-d-q **będę** (cf. suffixal d in **jadę** ~ **jechać**).

*Specifically, movements *with* the body, e.g., kyv (nod), rather than movements *of* the body (transposition), e.g., beg (run), for which see 21.41. The distinction is somewhat blurred in the case of fru (fly), but the basic meaning of this verb is "flutter."

†Tisk has split into a pair of homonyms; actional **cisnąć** (throw) is perfective, while stative **cisnąć** (be tight, pinch) is imperfective.

21.21 Prefixes. There are a dozen and a half prefixes which are used with verbs, many of which correspond in form and meaning to prepositions. They are: **do-** (as far as), **na-** (onto), **nad-**, **o-**, **ob-**, **od-**, (away from) **po-**, **pod-** (under), **prze-** (through), **przy-** (toward), **roz-** (apart), **u-**, **w-** (into), **wy-** (out of), **wz-** (up), **za-**, **z-** (together), **z-** (off). It is useful to learn the meanings of prefixes (at least of those which may be said to have identifiable meanings), since in many cases it allows us to predict the meaning of a prefix-verb combination. The meanings of the following are predictable from the meaning of the prefix and the meaning of the verb (in parentheses): **do-biec** (run), **na-rzucić** (throw), **ode-pchnąć** (shove), **pode-słać** (spread), **prze-kroić** (cut), **przy-jść** (go), **roz-lecieć** (fly), **w-prowadzić** (lead), **wy-kręcić** (screw), **wz-bić** (hit), **s-kleić** (glue), **ze-trzeć** (rub). However, there is also much unpredictability. The meaning of the verb often affects how the prefix is to be understood, as when **w-** plus **mówić** gives **wmówić** (persuade). Secondly, several of the concrete prefixes have also abstract meanings (21.42). As for the abstract prefixes, their contribution to the meaning of the prefix-verb combination is often hard to identify, let alone predict, and in some combinations it approaches zero. Take **na-** for example: in **narzucić płaszcz na ramiona** (throw a coat over the shoulders) its meaning is concrete, in **nabrać wody w naczyniu** (collect water in a container) it denotes accumulation, and in **napisać list** (write a letter) it is semantically empty. In the latter case the prefixed verb is often limited to perfective use. Therefore, together with the unprefixed verb, which in most cases is limited to imperfective use, it functions as a perfective/imperfective pair. Each verb in Polish tends to have one particular abstract prefix which it selects for perfective use in the same meaning as in imperfective use without a prefix. For **robić** it is **z-**, for **prosić** it is **po-**, **u-** for **gryźć**, **o-** for **budzić** (awaken), **za-** for **aresztować** (arrest), and so on. (Some select more than one: for **pytać** [ask] we find both **spytać** and **zapytać**.) Sometimes,

however, the semantically empty prefix occurs with the verb also imperfectively, and in such cases the difference in meaning between the unprefixed verb and the prefix-verb combination can be elusive: *brać* ~ *zabierać* (take), *śłać* ~ *posyłać* (send), *zwać* ~ *nazywać* (name). Often the prefix-verb combination is more common, e.g., *umierać* (die) vs. *mrzeć*.

21.22 In place of a prefix, some verbs have a compound prefix. For example: *poprzestać* (stop at, be content with; cf. *przestać* [cease]), *spotykać* (meet; cf. *potykać się* [stumble]), *wynająć* (rent; cf. *nająć* [hire]), *zaopatrzyć* (supply; cf. *opatrzyć* [repair]), *zapobiec* (prevent; cf. *pobiec* [run]), *sprzedać* (sell; cf. *dać*), *zostawić* (leave; cf. *stawiać* [place]). The use of a compound prefix with a verb must not be confused with the use of a prefix with a prefixed verb. A compound prefix functions the same as a simple prefix with regard to aspect, and *poprzestać* has the same structure as *prze-stać*. But *poprzewracać* (turn over) is *po-* + *-przewracać* and differs in aspect from *przewracać*; see 21.5.

21.30 Imperfectivization. When a verb with a prefix (or one of the verbs in 21.11) is used imperfectively, it undergoes changes in its thematic structure which are termed IMPERFECTIVIZATION.

Exceptions: *ran* (wound) is used perfectly but fails to undergo imperfectivization when used imperfectively; there are verbs with prefixes which do not undergo imperfectivization when used imperfectively, e.g., *należeć* (belong), *pożądać* (desire), *przystoi/przystало* (is/was proper), *zależać* (be of importance). Only apparent exceptions are cases where there is no prefix functioning as such but the item in verb position contains a prefix, e.g., *wyrokować* (pass judgment; cf. *wyrok* [judgment]), *powodować* (cause; cf. *powód* [cause]). Some prefixlike items do not have the force of prefixes (i.e., do not trigger imperfectivization used with a verb), e.g., *współ-* (co-), as in *współpracować* (co-operate), *współczuć* (sympathize), *współżyć* (coexist).

Imperfectivization is an apt term in most cases, where the verb has a lexically specified thematic structure in both unprefixed imperfective use and prefixed perfective use and inserts additional thematic elements in prefixed imperfective use only. However, the *n*-verbs insert a thematic element in perfective use which never occurs in prefixed imperfective use.* Thematic *n* aside, the following is a typical case of imper-

*Hence *wchłonać/wchłaniać* (absorb) must be viewed as two roots, *xlo* and *xlon*, as must *urznąć/urzynać* (cut) and *ogarnąć/ogarniać* (grasp).

fectivization. A prefix-verb-ending structure, P V E, receives an imperfectivizing element (i), $\rightarrow$ P V i E, and also a thematic element which characterizes the root as a lexical item (L), $\rightarrow$ P V L i E. Imperfectivizing elements are a and yu (often occurring in combination) and sometimes i and ou. Lexical characteristics are i, ě, and ou. Thematic a is frequently associated with verb roots as a lexical characteristic, but it always occurs as i, never as L, in the above schema. On the other hand, for the few roots with which i occurs as L, it also occurs as L.

21.31 Five verbs, *lęż* (crawl), *nes* (carry), *ved* (lead), *vez* (convey), and *xld* (go), imperfectivize with thematic i and a shift of root vowel to o. (A sixth, *vlek* [drag], follows this pattern optionally.)* For example, *pri-nes* (bring), which used perfectly has the 1st-conj. forms **przynieść, przyniosę, przyniesie**, used imperfectively has the 2nd-conj. forms **przynosić, przynoszę, przynosisz**.

Exercise. Give perfv. and imperfv. forms. 1. *za-ved* (deceive) 2. *do-vez* (drive as far as) (**pasażera do rogu** [passenger as far as the corner]) 3. *vy-lęż* (crawl out; for ě, the shift in root vowel is to a [cf. 21.33]) (**z dziury** [hole]) 4. *zũ-nes* (bear, endure) (**tego hałasu** [noise]) 5. *vũ-xld* (enter; stem for inf. and pres.-tense forms is *jld*, hence **wejść, wejść**; when *jld* is used without a prefix I lengthens to i and 12.4 applies: **iść, idę**; imperfv. forms are based on *l-form* stem, which must therefore have this shape, not *šld* as given in 20.111; for masc. sg. *vũ-xld-l-ũ* the *ũ* of the prefix does not go to e per 10.3 but drops: **wszedł**) (**do pokoju** [room])

21.32 Verbs which do not show thematic a as a lexical characteristic imperfectivize with thematic a. Thus *odũ-gryz* (bite off), which has perfv. **odgryźć, odgryzę, odgryziesz**, has imperfv. **odgryzać, odgryzam, odgryzasz**. *Zũ-tęg* (pull off), an *n-verb*, has perfv. **ściągnąć, ściągnę** and imperfv. **ściągać, ściągam**.

Exercise. Give perfv. and imperfv. forms. 1. *na-vlek* (thread) (**igłę** [needle]) 2. *vy-sęd* (get off; +n/PRES, see 21.12) (**z autobusu**) 3. *vũ-pad* (drop in; +n/PRES) (**do**

*A seventh, *gũn* (drive, chase; +a), does not imperfectivize with this pattern alone, since **wygonić** (for example) is perfective the same as **wygnąć**. But root o and +i is reflected in imperfv. **wyganiać**, which in addition shows rules 21.33 and 21.35. *Do-tyk* (pertain), which is used only imperfectively, also shows thematic i: **dotyczyć**.

Potockich [on the P.'s]) 4. *podŭ-strig* (with *się*, get one's hair cut) 5. *odŭ-po-věd* (answer; ě/INF, 18.5)* (*na pytanie* [question]) 6. *pre-streg* (warn) (*kogoś przed niebezpieczeństwem* [someone of danger])

21.33 Imperfectivization via thematic *a* is accompanied by a series of shifts in the root vowel: *i* → *i*, *ŭ* → *y*, *e* → *ě*, *o* → *a*. The first three are found only in a dozen and a half verbs, while *o* → *a* has a broader range of occurrence. *o* → *a* applies also to *o*'s which because of other rules show up as *ó*, e.g., in the case of *wrócić* (return) and *skrócić* (shorten); see 21.35 Ex. In verbs ending in *r* or *l* (19.54) *i* derived from *i* shifts to *e*.† For example, *obŭ-tłn* (cut off), which has perfv. *obciąć*, *obetnę*, *obetniesz*, has imperf. *obcinać*, *obcinam*, *obcinasz*; *za-met* (sweep), which has perfv. *zamieść*, *zamiotę*, *zamiciesz*, has imperf. *zamiatać*, *zamiatam*, *zamiatasz*; *popłr* (support), which has perfv. *poprzeć*, *poprę*, *poprzesz*, has imperf. *popierać*, *popieram*, *popierasz* (see also 20.2).

Exercise. 1. *za-mŭk* (close; +n) (*drzwi*) 2. *po-mog* (help) (*paniom*) 3. *rozŭ-gnet* (crush) (*papierosa* [cigaret]) 4. *zŭ-tłr* (erase; ŭ → *e* before consonant cluster; cf. p. 39, fn.) (*tablicę*) 5. *skok* (jump; +i) (*do wody* [into the water]) 6. *xvyt* (grab; +i) (*kogoś za rękę*) 7. *za-pomłn* (forget; ě/INF)‡ (*swoje okulary*) 8. *ot-vłr* (open) (*okno*)§ 9. *odŭ-počłn* (rest up; n → v in imperf.) (*na obozie* [at camp])

21.331 Imperfectivization with thematic *a* takes place also with +a/INF verbs which have *i* or *ŭ* in the root (*błr*, *plř*, *rŭv*, *stłł*, *sŭs*, *zŭv*)

*So also other verbs containing *po-věd*, e.g., *opowiedzieć* (narrate), *zapowiedzieć* (announce, foretell); other verbs with *věd*, e.g., *dowiedzieć się* (find out), *wyowiedzieć się* (inquire), imperfectivize per 21.36.

†This rule is not limited to imperfectivized verb forms; cf. *ser* (cheese), *butelka* (bottle), where it applies to underlying *y*.

‡*Pomłn* does not occur as such in the 1st sg. and 3rd pl. present; we find instead *pom* (+n), e.g., *wspomnieć* (recollect, mention): *wspomniat*, *wspomnieli*, *wspomni*, *wspomniesz*, but *wspomnę*, *wspomną*.

§In most perfective contexts we find the suppletive verb *otworzyć*.

and with one +a verb with *ũ* in the root: *tūk*.*

Exercise. Form perfv. and imperf. infinitives. 1. *vy-bŕ* (choose) 2. *rozŕ-rŭv* (tear apart) 3. *podŕ-stŭl* (spread; *t* drops before *l*) (*siomę* [straw]) 4. *po-sŭl* (send) 5. *na-zŭv* (name) 6. *zŭ-po-tŭk* (meet) (*znajomego na dworcu* [an acquaintance at the train station])

21.34 For verbs ending in a vowel imperfectivization with thematic *a* creates a sequence of two vowels. The hiatus is filled with a glide, *j* after *i*, after other vowels *y* (realized as *-w-*). For *do-pi* (drink to the end), which has a perfective infinitive *dopić*, the imperfective infinitive *do-pi-ti* acquires thematic *a*, → *do-pia-ti*, and a hiatus-filling front glide, → *do-pija-ti* *dopijać*. With other root vowels, e.g., *za-ŝy* (sew up; perfv. inf. *zaszyć*), *a* is inserted, → *za-ŝya-ti*, and the hiatus is filled with the back glide, → *za-ŝyŭa-ti* *zaszywać*.

Exercise. 1. (*Słońce* [sun]) *o-gre* (warms) 2. (*Lata* [years]) *mŭ* (pass; +n) 3. (*Zabójcy* [murderers]) *za-bi* (kill) 4. (*Samochód* [automobile]) *u-ży* (uses) (*benzyny* [gasoline]) 5. (*My*) *odŭ-ću* (feel) (*ból* [pain]) 6. (*Kto*) *za-vi* (wrap; +n) (*paczkę* [package]) 7. (*Kasia*) *po-le* (water) (*kwiaty*) 8. (*Gość*) *pri-by* (arrive; in present stem thematic *n* + suffixal *d* [21.12]: *przybędzie*)

21.341 Verbs which are +*ć* show thematic *ć* also before imperfectivizing *a*, creating a hiatus (*ća*) which is filled by *y*. For example, *po-rozum* (come to agreement; with *się*), which has perfv. *porozumieć się* (18.41), has imperf. *porozumiewać się*, *porozumiewam się*. This applies also to several verbs which have *ć* only in the infinitive stem, e.g., *odechcieć* (cease wishing), *dobrzmieć* (finish rumbling), *podejrzeć* (suspect).†

21.342 This pattern (rather than 21.35) is followed in the case of thematic *i* following certain consonant clusters: *wydrwić* (deride), *po-
Lŭg (lie) is exceptional: *obŭ-lŭg* (deceive) and *za-lŭg* (misrepresent) (both of which optionally show +a throughout the perfective) imperfectivize via 21.36 with no *ũ* → *y*.

†But *jŕ* in the direct sense "look," as in *spojrzeć* (glance) and *przejrzeć* (look through), does not occur imperfectively. Instead we find *glŕd* (+a): *spoglądać*, *przeglądać*.

kpić (poke fun), **zamglić** (cover with haze), and **wyśnić** (dream up), including also combinations of these roots with other prefixes, imperfectivize as **wydrwiwać**, **pokpiwać**, etc. For **zaćmić** (darken), **oślnić** (dazzle), and **powątpić** (doubt), including occurrences of the first two roots with different prefixes, thematic *i* shifts to *ę* in the imperfective: **zaćmiewać**, **oślniewać**, **powątpiewać**.

21.343 *Da* (give), *sta* (stand), and *zna* (know) are imperfectivized with *+n/INF* rather than with *+a*, e.g., **dawać** (with hiatus filling *-w-*), **daję**, **dajesz**, **daje**. *Sta* in most of its perfective uses is *+n/PRES*, e.g., **dostanę**, **dostaniesz** but **dostać**, **dostał** (get, obtain), but when it is used without prefix (and without *się*, as in **Co się stało?** [What happened?]), it shows thematic *n* also in the infinitive and *l*-forms, e.g., **Stanąłem na palcach** (I stood on tiptoe), **Zegar stanął** (The clock stopped). In this way it is distinguished from **stać**, **stoję**, e.g., **Stałem na palcach** (I was standing on tiptoe). Generalized *+n* is seen also in **przystanąć** (halt briefly); otherwise *sta* has the same shape as contracted *stoj-a* (18.221); cf. **przestać**, **przestanę** (cease) and **przestać**, **przestoję** (stand through).*

Exercise. Give perfv. and imperf. forms. 1. **zū-pre-da** (sell) (**meble na raty** [furniture on time]) 2. **vŭz-sta** (get up; *zs* simplifies to *-s-*) (**o siódmej godzinie** [at seven]) 3. **prī-zna** (**się do winy** [confess guilt])

21.35 Verbs which are *+i* show thematic *i* also before imperfectivizing *a*.† For example, **vy-čyst-l-i** (they cleaned out; cf. **czysty**), which shows thematic *i* in the perfective (**wyczyścili**), inserts imperfectivizing *a*, → **vy-čysta-l-i**, and also thematic *i*, → **vy-čystia-l-i**. Before this *a*, similarly as before the 1st sg. and 3rd pl. endings (18.22), thematic *i* glides, **vy-čystja-l-i**, and causes iotation, → **wyczyszczali**.

Exercise. Give perf. and imperv. forms for the following *+i* verbs. **odū-krót** (unscrew) (**żarówkę**) 2. **zū-mést** (fit in, have room) (**się w drzwiach**) 3. **po-vtōr** (repeat) (**zda-**

Sŭp* (sleep; *+a/INF*, *+i/PRES*), which in the perfective with a prefix has either the same thematicization as unprefixed or else *+n* (with loss of *p*: **zasnąć [fall asleep]), imperfectivizes with *a* and thematic *i* and also *ŭ* → *y*: **zasypiać** (the same as transitive **uśpić** [put to sleep], **usypiać**).

†Exceptions: **skok** (jump) and **xvyt** (grab), which show *+i* only in the perfective.

nie [sentence]) 4. pre-dlug (extend) (**pobyt na obozie** [stay at camp]) 5. za-latv (settle) (**ważną sprawę** [important matter]) 6. vñ-provad (lead in, introduce) (**nowy temat** [subject]) 7. rjut (throw) (**piłkę**) 8. pre-škod (hinder) (**sąsiadowi uczyć się** [a neighbor from studying]) 9. vrôt (return) (**do domu**) 10. za-rob (earn) (**pieniądze**) 11. za-pros (invite) (**przyjaciół na obiad** [friends to dinner]) 12. odũ-mōv (refuse, decline) (**oferty** [an offer])

21.36 Verbs which show thematic a as a lexical characteristic imperfectivize with thematic yu. This applies not only to +a and +a/INF verbs like **czytać** and **pisać**, but also, since +ou implies +a/INF, to +ou verbs like **pracować**. Like ou, thematic yu implies +a/INF, i.e., it is followed by a in the infinitive and *l*-forms (where yua is realized as **-ywa-**) and by *j* in the present-tense forms (where yu monophthongizes to **-u-** before *j*). Thus next to perfv. **odczytać** (decipher), **podpisać** (sign), and **wypracować** (work out), we have imperf. **odczytywać, odczytuję, odczytujesz; podpisywać, podpisuję, podpisujesz; wypracowywać, wypracowuję, wypracowujesz**. Following *k* and *g*, yua is of course realized as **-iwa-** (**oczekiwać, obsługiwać**) according to 11.21; however, before imperfectivizing yu the velar fricative *x* also undergoes this change: **zakochać się ~ zakochiwać się** (fall in love).

Exercise. Give perfv. and imperf. forms. 1. o-pis (describe; +a/INF) (**krajobraz** [landscape]) 2. o-trim (receive; +a) (**radę** [advice]) 3. odũ-bud (rebuild; +ou) (**Stare Miasto**) 4. ze x-ov (behave [no perfv.]; +a) (**się dobrze**) 5. vy-slux (hear out; +a) (**kazania** [sermon]) 6. o-ček (await [no perfv.]; +a) (**list**) 7. vy-vol (develop; +a) (**blonę** [film]) 8. po-lap (catch; +a/INF) (**się w nowej sytuacji** [get one's bearings in a new situation]) 9. pre-kaz (transmit, pass on; +a/INF) (**polecenie** [recommendation]) 10. vy-šuk (seek out; +a) (**starego znajomego** [acquaintance])

21.361 Verbs which can be +é INF imperfectivize with

yu, e.g., **krzyczeć** ~ **wykrzyknąć** ~ **wykrzykiwać**; cf. 21.341. In contrast with 21.341 and 21.35, this *ě* does not turn up in the imperfectivized forms.

For *lēt* (fly), *pelz* (crawl; hard p), *skok* (jump), *slizg* (slip), *strěl* (shoot), and *xvyt* (grab), the use of yu for imperfectivization can be related to the use of thematic a in other functions (21.36). Thus the occurrence of perfv. **polatać** helps explain why prefixed *lēt* is imperfectivized with yu, e.g., **odlatywać**. However, with other verbs we find thematic a, not yu, in the imperfectivizing function despite the fact that it occurs in other functions as well; thus **narzucić** (throw on) has imperf. **narzucać** despite the occurrence of perfective **narzucać** (see 21.42). **Patr** (look; +i),* **slug** (serve; +i), and **tluk** (break) likewise imperfectivize with yu.

Exercise. Give perfv. and imperf. forms. 1. pre-vid (foresee; *ě*/INF) (**niebezpieczeństwo**) 2. vy-séd (sit out; *ě*/INF—cf. 21.32 Ex. no. 2) (**lekcję**) 3. rozŭ-patr (examine; +i) (**plan**) 4. rozŭ-strěl† (scatter, space out; +i) (**główny wyraz** [main word]) 5. obŭ-slug (serve; +i) (**klienta** [customer]) 6. podŭ-skok (jump up; +i; o → a)

21.37 In a few cases the thematic feature of imperfectivizing yu, normally +a/INF, simplifies to +a. This happens with a few nonsyllabic roots like *gr*, e.g., *na-gr* (record; +a) perfv. **nagrać**, **nagram**, imperf. **nagrywać**, **nagrywam**, and optionally with *děl*, *jedŭn*, *kon*, and *rŭvŭn*, e.g., **oddziałuję** ~ **oddziaływam** (influence), **wyjednuję** ~ **wyjednywam** (wheedle), **przekonuję** ~ **przekonywam** (convince), **wyrównuję** ~ **wyrównywam** (level out).

21.38 A few verbs are imperfectivized with thematic ou, e.g., *jŭm* (take)‡ as in *za-jŭm* (occupy), which has perfv. **zająć** (19.53), **zajmę**, **zajmiesz** and imperf. **zajmować**, **zajmuję**, **zajmujesz**. Also *kup* (buy; +i/PEV) when it is unprefixes: **kupować** **kupuję**; prefixed, it takes yu e.g., **wykupić** ~ **wykupywać** (buy out). Also *stŭp* (step; +i/PEV) used with prefixes,§ e.g., **wystąpić** (step out, as in *w. z przemówieniem*

**Patr* is sometimes +*ě*/INF, more often without a prefix than with.

†Verbs in *l* are an exception; soft *l* in the perfv. form is carried over into the imperf. form: **rozstrzeliwać** like **rozstrzelić**, **wypieląć** like **wypleć** (weed), even **podścielać** next to **podesłać** (spread); see 4.11.

‡No present forms in unprefixes use, only, e.g., **Jęlam biec** (I started to run) and **Jął się pracy** (= **Wziął się do pracy**).

§Unprefixes, *stŭp* occurs as a phraseologically limited +i perfective, e.g., **stąpić gdzieś nogą** (set foot somewhere), and as a +n ~ +a pair (21.12).

[make a speech]), where the root nasal is short in imperf. forms: **występować, występuje**. In verbs with na-jřd, e.g., **znajdę, znajdziesz** (find; inf. and l-forms have lřz: **znaleźć, znaleźli**), ou competes with yu: **znajdywać ~ znajdować**.

Exercise. Give perfv. and imperf. forms. 1. vy-na-jřm (rent) (**mieszkanie**) 2. podř-kup (underbid) (**konkurenta** [competitor]) 3. u-střp (yield) (**ojcu miejsca** [father room]) 4. vy-na-jřd (discover) (**błędy w tekřcie** [errors in a text]) 5. pre-jřm (with **się**, be disturbed)

21.41 Determinate aspect. Besides perfective/imperfective, the interplay of thematic elements described above expresses another aspectual distinction, DETERMINATE/NONDETERMINATE. The implementation of this opposition is quite limited. In prefixless usage, where both members of the opposition are imperfective, it occurs only in a handful of verbs denoting transposition. The six verbs given in 21.31 all occur also without prefixes with the same thematic patterns. For at least half of these, e.g., **wlec ~ włřczyć**, differences in meaning and distribution overshadow aspectual differences. However, for **iřć/chodzić, nieřć/nosić**, and **wieźć/wozić**, the similarity in meaning and distribution within each pair allows us to view the first as DETERMINATE, signaling unidirectional, unbroken movement towards some goal, and the second as NONDETERMINATE. Thus one says **Jurek szedł do szkoły** with reference to a single occasion when George was en route to school, and **Jurek chodził do szkoły**, with reference to the comings and goings involved in George's attending school at some time in the past. Similarly, **Zosia niesie suknię** describes the dress as being taken somewhere, whereas in **Zosia nosi suknię** the transposition of the dress has no goal, it is simply being worn. With lřt (fly) the deter./nondeter. opposition is implemented by means of +ř/INF and +a, e.g., **Gęsi lecą na północ** (The geese are flying north) vs. **Nad stodolą latają jaskřłki** (Swallows are flying over the barn). There are several verbs with the thematic features +n/+a which do not reflect the perfv./imperf. opposition and are therefore candidates for deter./nondeter. They are

beg (run; 18.12), pelz (crawl; hard p), and ply (swim, sail).^{*} In addition, jęd (ride; 19.11) has determinate aspectual meaning but is otherwise synonymous with jęzd (+i), which has nondeterminate meaning.

Exercise. 1. **Dokąd pan jęd/jęzd?** (Where are you going?) 2. **Rzadko jęd/xjęd do tej kawiarni** (I rarely go to that café) 3. **nes/nos kufer na strych** (We were carrying the trunk up to the attic) 4. **W przyszłym miesiącu „Batory” ply do Montrealu** (Next month the *Batory* sails for Montreal) 5. **beg na rynek; beg po sklepach** (We rushed to the square; we ran from store to store)

21.42 The determinate/nondeterminate opposition I is a greater implementation with prefixes, where both members of the opposition are perfective. Nondeterminate aspect occurs with certain prefixes used abstractly, otherwise determinate aspect occurs. Det. nes and concrete do is seen in **Doniosłem buty do szewca** (I took the shoes as far as the shoemaker's), whereas nondet. nos and abstract do (up to the point of) occurs in **Donosilem buty do końca** (I wore the shoes out all the way). Directional **rozjęd** plus det. jęd gives **rozjechać się** (disperse), but abstract **rozjęd** plus nondet. jęzd gives **rozjeździć** (wear down [a road], wear out [a carriage]); directional **vy** is found in **wypchnąć klienta ze sklepu** (shove a customer out of the store), but a more abstract "out" is involved in **wypchać ptaka** (stuff a bird). Compare also **na-skoczyć na kogo/co** (jump onto someone/-thing), which has directional **na** and det. **skok** (+i), with **naskakać się** (have one's fill of jumping), which has the **na** of accumulation and nondet. **skak** (+a/INF). Some verbs implement nondeterminate aspect with the same thematicization as is used for imperfectivization (thus the imperf. of **doniosłem** is also **donosilem** and perf. nondet. **narzucać** as in **Narzucaliśmy kwiatów na scenę** [We covered the stage with flowers] is the

^{*}Fru (flutter, fly) denotes transposition and has this thematic pattern, but the +n forms are perfective.

same as imperf. **narzucać** as in **Narzucaliśmy tynk na ścianę** [We were roughcasting the wall]), and some verbs use a different pattern (**rozjechać się** has imperf. **rozjeżdżać się**, and **naskoczyć** has imperf. **naskakiwać**). Determinate verbs occur also with semantically empty prefixes, e.g., **pobiec na dwór** (run out into the yard; accent 12.5), contrasting with **po-** denoting limitation, as in **pobiegać na dworze** (run around in the yard). Prefixed nondeterminate verbs occur for the most part only perfectly. When they occur imperfectively the expected imperfectivization takes place, e.g., **donosić** has imperf. **donaszać**, **przepadać** (fall for a short while [said of rain]) has imperf. **przepadywać**. The number of verbs capable of expressing det./nondet. with prefixes, although greater than the number that can do so unprefixes, is limited, however.

21.5 Distributive po- The prefix **po-** can be used perfectly in verbal constructions which present the action as distributed in time or in space among plural objects (or subjects). The verb used with **po-** is in the nondeterminate form. Thus for **xvyt** (grab), in addition to the usual perfective **pochwycić** where **po-** is semantically empty, there is distributive **pochwytać**, limited to use with plural subjects or objects. Distributive **po-** is not limited to verbs which express det./nondet. by means of alternate thematicizations. It occurs also with an almost unlimited range of prefix-verb combinations. For example, when one window is closed it can only be expressed by **zamknąć**, as in **zamknąć/zamykać okno**. But when the action of closing is distributed among plural windows, **zamknąć** in the nondet. form can be used with distributive **po-**: **pozamykać okna**. The nondet. form of the verb called for by the construction employs the same thematic elements as imperfectivization. Thus we find **ponapisywać pocztówki** (write postcards), **powywieszać chorągwie** (hang out the flags), **powycinać krzaki** (cut out the bushes), and so on (cf. **napisać pocztówkę**, **wywiesić chorągiew**, **wyciąć**

krzak). Other prefixes are also sometimes used perfectly with prefixed verbs in this way, e.g., the **na-** of accumulation: **nawyprowiać** (kick up a row; cf. **wyprowić** [perpetrate]), **nawygrzebywać** (dig out a lot of; cf. **wygrzebać** [dig out]).

Exercise. 1. **Indian po-za-bi koloniści** (The Indians were killed by settlers.) 2. **po-zū-bir (21.33) wszystkie rzeczy** (We gathered up all our things) 3. **po-vy-pust (+i) ptaki z klatek** (I'll let the birds out of their cages) 4. **Ktoś po-vy-lam (+a/INF) nogi stołu** (Someone broke the legs of the table) 5. **Rury po-pęk** (The pipes burst; cf. **pęknąć**)

21.6 Frequentative. Unprefixed verbs can be used with the same thematic patterns as are used for imperfectivization to express intermittent action not taking place at the moment of speech. Thus, while **Piszę do matki** may refer to habitual action or to action in progress at the moment of speech, **Pisuję do matki** means only "I write to my mother now and then," excluding on-going action. All verbs which can imperfectivize when prefixed can form frequentatives, but not all verbs are commonly used in the frequentative form.

Exercise. 1. **W młodości gr (+a; 21.37) w tenisa** (In my youth I used to play tennis) 2. **Od czasu do czasu pi (21.34) koniak** (From time to time we drink cognac) 3. **Czasem xod (+i; 21.35) na ryby** (Sometimes we would go fishing) 4. **Matka sęd (+a) przy oknie** (Mother used to sit down by the window) 5. **Ostatnio źle śp (21.343 fn.)** (Lately I've been sleeping poorly)

22.0 Forms of the nominative plural. In the nominative plural the choice of ending for nouns is determined by several factors: gender and declension class, meaning, and shape of stem. With nominal expressions referring to other than male persons, the nom. endings are used also in the accusative, thus **Skąd przyszły te młode osoby? ~ Kto zna te młode osoby?** Cf. 24.7.

22.1 Neuter nouns take nom. pl. **-a**: **okno, zdania** (sentences, opinions). This includes nouns with the suffixes **ęć** (9.11)* and **en**, e.g., **dziewczę dziewczęta, imię imiona**, and nouns with the suffix **-um** in the singular (9.231), e.g., **centrum centra**.†

For plural-only nouns like **drwa** (firewood), **usta** (mouth), and **wrota** (gate), which have no corresponding nom. sg. in **-o**, nom. pl. **-a** is unpredictable. **Oko** (eye) and **ucho** (ear) have nom. pl. **oczy, uszy**. Two nouns, **nasienie** (seed) and **ziele** (herb), have the suffix **ij** (lost by contraction) in the singular but not in the plural: **nasiona, zioła**. **Dziecko** (child) has the suffix **isk** in the singular (det-isk-o) but not in the plural: **dzieci**.

Exercise. Give the nom. pl. form. 1. **pióro** 2. **mieszkanie** 3. **radio** 4. **studium** 5. **orlę** (eaglet; **ęć**) 6. **państwo** (state) 7. **ramię** (arm, shoulder; **en**) 8. **miejsce** 9. **szkło** (glass; pl. = **okulary**) 10. **źdźbło** (stalk)

22.11 **Brat** and **ksiądz** (priest; gen. **księdza**) form their plural stem with the suffix **ij** (lost by contraction) and also take nom. pl. **-a**: **brat-ij-a bracia, księ-ij-a księża**.

22.2 Other 1st- and 2nd-declension nouns, except those which denote male persons, take nom. pl. **y**, which is realized as **-y** except after **k** and **g** (11.21): **kwiaty, muchy, książki**. (But see also 22.5.)

Exercise. Give the nom. pl. form (nos. 7–14 show a fleeting vowel; nos. 15–20 compensatory lengthening). 1. **żona** 2. **lampa** 3. **ptak** 4. **rząd** (government) 5. **pomysł** (thought) 6. **cecha** (characteristic) 7. **ołówek** 8. **łeb** (head [of animal]) 9. **pies** 10. **kieł** (fang, tusk) 11. **orzeł** (eagle; 20.122) 12. **kocioł** (kettle; 20.122) 13. **kozył** (billy goat; 4.12) 14. **osioł** (donkey; 4.12) 15. **stół** 16. **kościół** 17. **zab** (tooth) 18. **rząd** (row) 19. **krąg** (circle) 20. **róg** (horn, corner)

*Also masc. **książę: książęta** (cf. 17.23 fn.).

†A small and dwindling class of nouns borrowed from Latin still optionally takes nom. pl. **-a** even though the singular forms do not (at present) show **-um**: **akt akta** (documents), **organ organa** (governmental instrumentalities).

22.3 Many nouns denoting male persons take the distinctively male-personal nom. pl. ending **-owie**. It occurs with male kinship terms (**ojcowie**, **synowie**, **mężowie**), nouns denoting high social rank (**królowie** [kings], **generałowie**, **doktorowie** [as an academic title]), and men's names (when used in the plural to denote a married couple, e.g., **Mickiewiczowie**, **Jackowie** [Jacek and wife]). Because of its honorific nuance **-owie** does not occur with nouns such as **diabeł** (devil), **kat** (hangman), **łotr** (scoundrel), and **szpieg** (spy). For **-owie** the semantic factor overrides the other factors mentioned, as nouns taking this ending may have basic or non-basic stem-final consonants (**kapitanowie**, **zięciowie** [sons-in-law]), may belong to the 2nd declension (**Zaremba Zarembowie**, **Chodźko Chodźkowie**), or even to the adjective declension (**Antoni** [gen. **Antoniego**] **Antoniewie**). There are formal limitations however: **-owie** does not occur after the adjective suffix **-isk** (22.7) or after agent noun suffixes like **-arz**, **-acz**, **-ak**, **-ciel**, and **-ec** (22.5; e.g., **gospodarz** [master of the house, landholder, farmer], **bogacz** [rich man], **Kozak** [Cossack], **przedstawiciel** [representative], **wybraniec** [chosen one, recruit]). There are also several borrowed titles which do not take **-owie**: **prezydent**, **docent**, **dziekan** (dean) (see 22.4). A fair number of nouns take **-owie** optionally, e.g., **profesor**, **bohater** (hero), **ambasador**, and nouns in **-log** such as **biolog** (biologist). But except for the three categories mentioned above, the nouns which take **-owie** must simply be learned. For example: **Arabowie**, **bogowie** (gods), **Finowie**, **pasażerowie** (passengers), **uczniowie** (pupils), **widzowie** (spectators), **więźniowie** (prisoners).

22.4 Otherwise the nom. pl. ending for nouns denoting male persons is **i** (**-i** or **-y**), which causes palatalization of the

*One positive formal feature should be mentioned: **-owie** is selected by nouns in **ik** and **Ik**, and in **łotrzykowie** (rogues) and **złodziejaskowie** (thieves) this formal factor outweighs the semantic factor just mentioned (but see also 22.8).

stem-final consonant, e.g., **student studenci** ("stu-deń-ći"), **doktor doktorzy**.

Exercise. Give the nom. pl. form. 1. **Szwed** 2. **Francuz** 3. **Węgier** (Hungarian; fleeting **e**) 4. **poeta** 5. **diabel** (fleeting **e**; also 25.8) 6. **dentysta** 7. **kat** (also 25.8) 8. **sąsiad** (neighbor; 14.2) 9. **anioł** (angel; 14.1, also 25.3 and 25.8) 10. **dziekan** 11. **chłop** 12. **ekonom** (steward; also 22.3) 13. **mężczyzna** (man) 14. **profesor** 15. **kandydat**

22.41 Velar consonants show a distinctive palatalization before nom. pl. **i**, as they do in the loc. sg. form of 2nd-declension nouns (12.222): **Polak Polacy, kolega koledzy**. The same palatalization occurs in nouns ending in **-ec** and **-ca**, e.g., **chłopiec, kierowca**, where the **i** ending palatalizes an underlying **ik**: **chłopcy, kierowcy**. For the velar fricative, the expected outcome in a few nouns is modified by a further degree of softening: **Czech Czesi, mnich** (monk) **mnisi** **Włoch** (Italian) **Włosi**. Other nouns with velar fricative stems, e.g., **pastuch** (herdsman), **zuch** (scout, brave lad) **druh** (scout, companion), avoid stem softening by selecting a different ending.

Exercise. 1. **biolog** 2. **warszawiak** (Varsovian) 3. **dramaturg** (playwright; also 25.3) 4. **siostrzeniec** (sister's son) 5. **dowódzca** (leader)

22.5 For nouns with stems ending in a nonbasic consonant (except those covered by 22.3), the distinction between the male-personal nom. pl. ending (**poeci, Polacy**) and the other nom. pl. ending (**koty, ptaki**) is neutralized by the shift of both endings to **-e**. Thus **gość-ij-i** (guests) and **gołóbj-y** (pigeons) end up with the same ending: **goście, gołębie**.

Exercise. 1. **kraj** (country) 2. **pisarz** (writer) 3. **klucz** (key) 4. **hotel** 5. **nauczyciel** 6. **ulica** 7. **nóż** (knife; 14.1) 8. **złodziej** (thief) 9. **pani** 10. **burza** (storm) 11. **koktajl** 12.

*Underlying **ik** is reflected also in voc. **chłopcze** (§33) and in related forms like **chłopczyk** (little boy).

żółw (turtle; *żółvj*) 13. **miesiąc** (month) 14. **niedźwiedź** (bear) 15. **koniec** (end; fleeting *e*)*

22.51 Noun stems ending in **-ans** behave as though nonbasic: **awanse** (advances, promotions), **niuanse** (nuances), **szanse** (chances).†

22.52 An underlying nom. pl. *e* ending occurs with nouns which have **-in** in the singular but not in the plural: **Amerykanin Amerykanie**, **dworzanin** (courtier) **dworzanie**. It also occurs with several **-an** nouns which do not have **-in**, e.g., **Hiszpan** (Spaniard), **młodzian** (youth [arch.]). Also with **przyjaciół** (friend), which has stem-final *j* in the singular (gen. **przyjaciela**) but not in the plural: **przyjaciół-e przyjaciółe**. The nom. pl. of **ręka** (hand) is **ręce**.

22.6 The 3rd-declension nom. pl. ending is *i* (**-i** or **-y**): **części** (parts), **myszy** (mice), **myśli** (thoughts), **odpowiedzi** (answers), **pieśni** (songs), **powieści**, **treści** (contents). But there is a strong tendency for 3rd-declension nouns in the nom. pl. to undergo rule 22.5, which results in **koleje** (railways), **łokcie** (elbows), **noce** (nights), **twarze** (faces). This tendency is in fact the rule, so that 3rd-declension nouns with nom. pl. **-i** (**-y**)—other than nouns with the suffix *ost*, e.g., **wiadomości** (news), which invariably have **-i**—must simply be learned. A number of 3rd-declension nouns may take either ending: **garści** or **garście** (handfuls), **postaci** or **postacie** (figures), **wsie** or **wsie** (villages).

Exercise. 1. **głęb** (depth; 15.3) 2. **gęś** (goose; 3rd decl. nom. pl.) 3. **pieczęć** (seal) 5. **słodczy** (sweet)

22.7 The adjective nom. pl. ending is *i* (**-i** or **-y**) for male persons and **-e** (contracted from *yje*) otherwise, e.g., **moi drodzy synowie** vs. **moje drogie córki**. Basic stem consonants palatalize before *i* as in 22.4, e.g., **wielcy Polacy**, **cisi Czesi**, **szczerzy premierzy**. Among nonbasic stem consonants, *ś*

*A phonetically soft dental followed by a hard dental tends toward a heterogeneous pronunciation, the beginning portion remaining soft but the final portion assimilating to the hard pronunciation of the following consonant; thus, **końce** is pronounced "kojn-ce."

†Perhaps because after a noncontinuant *n* the distinction between a continuant *s* and a noncontinuant *c* (a nonbasic consonant) is neutralized.

shows a phonetic softening to *ś*, e.g., *młodszy brat* (younger brother) *młodsi bracia*,* but for other adjectives the male-personal nom. pl. form coincides with the masc. nom. sg.: *obcy człowiek* (stranger) ~ *obcy ludzie* (strangers), *ostatni klient* ~ *ostatni klienci*. The other nom. pl. form coincides with the neut. sg. form: *grzeczne dziecko* ~ *grzeczne dzieci*.

Exercise. Rewrite in the nominative plural. 1. *ta młoda pani* 2. *ten młody pan* 3. *współczesny pisarz amerykański* (contemporary American writer) 4. *początkująca pisarka francuzka* (beginning French writer [fem.]) 5. *nasz dobry stary dziadek* (grandfather) 6. *nasza dobra stara babcia* (grandma) 7. *język obcy* (foreign language) 8. *brudne okno* (dirty window) 9. *tamten polski książę* 10. *nowe muzeum historyczne* 11. *niemiecki król* (German king) 12. *długa noc letnia* (long summer night) 13. *pewna osoba* (a certain person) 14. *duży mężczyzna* (big man) 15. *piękna kobieta* (beautiful woman)

22.8 Depersonalization. Male persons are sometimes referred to in the nominative (and accusative) plural **AFFECTIVELY**—with the other, not the male-personal, endings; e.g., *nędzne chłopcy* (wretched peasants); cf. the neutral *nędzni chłopci*. The nuances thus expressed range from contempt and pity to irony and even affection; in written Polish the tone is sometimes archaic and solemn. Some nouns are inherently affective and used only in this way, e.g., *cham* (boor), *psubrat* (scoundrel), and this may be due to the suffix, e.g., *grubas* (fatso), *łobuz* (bounder), *czyścioch* (finicky person), *leniuch* (lazybones). Many nouns may be used both ways: *tamci pijacy* (those drunkards) ~ *tamte pijaki*. In nouns with nonbasic stem consonants the choice of ending may be obscured by rule 22.5: *starzy złodzieje* ~ *stare złodzieje*.

22.9 Numerals 1–4. The first four numerals in nominative constructions show grammatical agreement with the accom-

*Also one adjective in *z*: *duży* (big) *duzi*.

panying nominal expression. "One": **jeden stół, jedno okno, jedna szafa, jedne drzwi**.^{*} "Two" has a distinctive feminine form (**dwie książki**) and a distinctive male-personal form (**dwaj Polacy**); neuter and other nouns call for **dwa** (**dwa krzesła, dwa stoły, dwa psy**). "Three" has the distinctive male-personal form **trzej** (**trzej Amerykanie**); other nouns take **trzy** (**trzy okna, trzy Amerykanki**). "Four" has parallel forms: **czterej Amerykanie, cztery Amerykanki**.

Exercise. Pronounce. 1. 1 skrzypce 2. 2 miesiące 3. 3 bracia 4. 4 mężowie 5. 2 polskie muzea 6. 2 długie powieści 7. 3 córki 8. nasi 4 synowie 9. 3 amerykańscy studenci 10. 4 stare domy

23.1 Uses of the genitive case. Aside from certain purely conventional uses,[†] genitive case in a nominal expression indicates quantification or limitation. The quantification may be localized in the nominal expression and independent of the verb. For example: **kupić chleba** (buy some bread; cf. **kupić chleb** [buy the bread]), **wziąć cukru** (take some sugar; cf. **wziąć cukier** [take the sugar]), **dołożyć węgla** (add coal; cf. **dołożyć słowo** [add a word]).

23.11 A related use of the genitive is with expressions of quantity, where count nouns are in the gen. pl. form and mass nouns in the gen. sg., e.g., **dużo ludzi** (a lot of people), **trochę soli** (a little salt), **mało czasu** (little time), **dosyć pieniędzy** (enough money; y optionally syncopates: **dość**). With the numerals 5–21 (also 25–31, 35–41, etc.) the gen. pl. form is used: **pięć kobiet** (five women), **trzydzieści jeden osób** (thirty-one persons) (see 26.1).

23.2 The limitation expressed by genitive case may also depend on the verb, signaling a less than full envelopment of

^{*}Thus only the masc. and neut. nom. sg. forms have the shorter, nominal endings (cf. **ten, to**); the remaining forms have regular adjective endings.

[†]E.g., with dates: **Wojna wybuchła pierwszego września** (The war broke out September 1st).

the object by the action of the verb. In some verbs this may be inherent in the meaning of the root, e.g., **skosztować mleka** (to taste the milk), **próbować sił** (to test one's powers). In others it may be introduced by the prefix, e.g., **dopić wina** (to finish the wine), **narwać kwiatów** (to pick some flowers); cf. **pić wino, rwać kwiaty**. In still other verbs, the use of genitive or accusative case (signaling partial or full envelopment of the object) is conditioned by the absence vs. presence of a prefix; compare **używać alkoholu** (use alcohol), **prosić pomocy** (request help), and **szukać mieszkania** (look for an apartment), which show genitive, with **zużyć paliwo** (use up the fuel), **wyprosić pomoc** (obtain help), and **przeszukać szufladę** (search a drawer), which have accusative. In **Daj mi noża** (Give me your knife [for a minute]), the limitation expressed by genitive is temporal.

23.21 Although genitive objects carry a perceptible nuance of meaning (at least where they contrast with accusative objects), it is not possible to predict the occurrence of genitive from the meaning of the verb; verbs governing the genitive case must simply be learned. For example: **pilnować dziecka** (take care of a child), **potrzebować wody** (need water), **śluchać matki** (obey one's mother), **uczyć matematyki** (teach mathematics). The task of memorization is facilitated by the fact that genitive-governing verbs fall into a number of semantic classes. For example, there are the verbs of seeking and desiring, e.g., **chcieć, pragnąć** (desire), **pytać** (ask [someone]; also takes acc.), **żądać** (demand), **życzyć** (wish). A distinct use of genitive is the so-called ablative genitive, used with verbs of fleeing and avoidance (broadly understood) to express the starting point of the motion away from, e.g., **bronić** (defend, prohibit), **chybić** (miss the mark), **o'mówić** (decline), **unikać** (avoid), **ustąpić** (yield).

23.22 Verbs used with the particle **się** may not govern the accusative and often govern the genitive. Compare **chwycić poręcz** (grab the railing) and **chwycić się poręczy, pytać**

siostry (or **siostrę**) and **pytać się siostry**, **trzymać klucz** (hold the key) and **trzymać się prawej strony** (stick to the right). A few common verbs which never occur without **się** take the genitive: **bać się** (fear; 18.221), **spodziewać się** (expect).

23.3 The object of a negated verb is in the genitive case, e.g., **Nigdy nie zapomnę tej nocy** (I'll never forget that night), **Czy nie dostałaś biletów?** (Didn't you get the tickets?).

This rule applies to verbs which take the accusative case when used affirmatively; verbs governing objects in other cases are not affected by negation: (**Nie**) **przypatrywaliśmy się czarnemu samochodowi** (We were [not] examining the black automobile—dative case), **Zosia (nie) cieszyła się wielką popularnością** (Sophie was[n't] very popular—instrumental case), (**Nie**) **prosiłem o herbatę**.

A negated verb governs a genitive object also at a distance: **Nie chcesz zobaczyć tego filmu?**

23.4 A noun subordinated to another noun is normally in the genitive case: **dom ojca** (father's house), **siostra pana** (your sister), **liczba mieszkańców** (the number of inhabitants), **filiżanka kawy** (cup of coffee), **powrót właściciela** (the return of the owner), **otwieranie okien** (opening of the windows).

Exceptions to this rule are seen in **pomoc bezdomnym** (help to the homeless) and **handel złotem** (trading in gold), where the case of the dependent noun is the same as in the related verb constructions **pomagać bezdomnym** and **handlować złotem**.

Where the noun in the genitive expresses possession, as in the first two examples, it often precedes: **w ojca domu**, **o pana siostrze**. A possessive relative pronoun likewise precedes its head noun: **nowy sąsiad, którego żonę poznałeś na przyjęciu** (the new neighbor, whose wife you met at the reception). Otherwise the order cannot be switched, e.g., not in **Polecam używanie słownika** (I recommend use of a dictionary).

23.5 Genitive is the case required by a number of common prepositions. For example: **wejść do pokoju** (enter the room), **od pierwszego do ostatniego** (from first to last), **wyjść z domu** (leave the house), **spaść z półki** (fall from the shelf),

kwiaty dla mamy (flowers for Mother), **bez niczego** (without anything), **według planu** (according to plan). Most secondary prepositions (e.g., **obok** [next to], **wśród** [among], **zamiast** [instead of]) and prepositional constructions (e.g., **w stronę rynku** [toward the square]) take the genitive case, for the reason given in 23.4.

23.6 Adjectives are in the genitive case when used with **co** (also **coś** [something] and **cokolwiek** [anything])* and **nic**: **coś ciekawego** (something interesting), **nic nowego** (nothing new). This applies to direct-case constructions; oblique-case constructions show agreement, e.g., **o czymś ciekawym**.

23.7 The existence of something can be asserted by means of a subject in the nominative and an agreeing predicate, e.g., **Tu był wysoki gmach** (There was a tall building here), **Są pieniądze** (There is money), **Po obiedzie będą lody** (After dinner we'll have ice cream). But to express nonexistence the subject is quantified, in the genitive case, and instead of an agreeing predicate a 3rd-person neuter singular verb is used. In the past and future the verb used is **być**: **Tu nie było wysokiego gmachu**, **Po obiedzie nie będzie lodów**. But in the present tense it is **nie ma**: **Nie ma pieniędzy**.

24.1 **Forms of the genitive singular.** For 2nd-declension nouns the gen. sg. ending is **y**; for 3rd-declension nouns it is **i**. Thus both classes have **-i** or **-y**, depending on phonetics and spelling rules. For example: **siostry, matki, mężczyzny, kolegi, kości, rzeczy**.

24.21 For neuter nouns the gen. sg. ending is **-a**: **okna, mieszkania, zwierzęcia** (animal), **ramienia**.

24.22 For 1st-declension masculine nouns denoting animate beings, the gen. sg. ending is **-a** (also the acc. sg. ending): **brata, pana, psa, gościa**. The sole exceptions are **wół** (ox) and **bawół** (buffalo), which have **wołu, bawołu**.

*-**ś** and **-kolwiek** occur also with other interrogative pronouns. Examples: **Dzwonił jakiś pan** (Some man called), **któregoś dnia** (some day), **Czy byłeś kiedykolwiek w Rzymie?** (Have you ever been to Rome?).

24.30 For inanimate masculine nouns of the 1st declension,* the gen. sg. ending may be either **-a** or **-u**.† The **-a** ending by virtue of its use with animate nouns has acquired a nuance or activeness and agentivity. At least this is one way of explaining its regular occurrence with inanimate nouns containing an agentive suffix, i.e., **-ak**, **-acz**, **-arz**, **-erz**, **-ik**, **-nik**, **-czyk**, **-ciel**, **-eń**, **-ec**, **-ek**, **-usz**, and others. For example (citing gen. sg. forms): **wiatraka** (windmill), **lizaka** (lollipop), **odkurzacza** (vacuum cleaner), **egzemplarza** (copy [of book]), **ołtarza** (altar), **pacierza** (prayer), **kołnierza** (collar), **słoika** (jar), **silnika** (motor), **grzebienia** (comb), **kamienia** (rock), **hamulca** (brake), **widelca** (fork), **wózka** (cart), **ratusza** (town hall). Compare the acc./gen. form of the animate nouns **Polaka**, **gracza**, **pisarza**, **tancerza**, **pracownika**, **więźnia**, **jeźdźca**, and **geniusza**. The agentive nuance is present also in the diminutive suffix, for while **dach** (roof), **kwiat** (flower), **most** (bridge), **ogród** (garden), and **wóz** (cart) all have gen. sg. **-u**, the gen. sg. forms of the diminutives are **daszka**, **kwiątka**, **mostka**, **ogródka**, and **wózka**. Consistent with the meaning of gen. sg. **-a**, it occurs with nouns denoting tools and instruments (e.g., **kilof** [pickaxe], **młot** [hammer], **nóż** [knife]) and parts of the body (e.g., **język** [tongue], **nos** [nose], **palec** [finger], **włos** [hair], **ząb** [tooth]) (specifically the smaller, more tool-like parts; compare the larger body parts **bok** [side], **kark** [neck], and **tył** [backside], which have **-u**).

24.31 Gen. sg. **-u** occurs with nouns belonging to the contrasting classes. Whereas **-a** occurs with nouns denoting agents and instruments, or, more generally, objects which are small on a human scale and have definite form, **-u** occurs with nouns denoting amorphous substances—abstractions, materials, and masses. Thus **gniew** (anger), **rozum** (intellect), and

*A redundant specification, since 2nd-declension masculine nouns are invariably animate; cf. **Nowego satelitę wystrzeliły USA** (The U.S. has launched a new satellite—newspaper headline).

†This is probably the thorniest single problem in Polish morphology.

strach (fear) take **-u**, as do deverbal nouns like **cios** (stroke), **lot** (flight), and **samochód** (automobile). Further, **beton** (concrete), **miód** (honey; 15.2), **olej** (oil), and **śnieg** (snow) have **-u**, as do **lud** (people), **naród** (nation; 15.2), **pluk** (regiment), and **zespół** (collective body). Whereas **-a** is the ending for nouns showing the characteristically Slavic feature of the fleeting vowel (**bęben** [drum], **ceber** [tub], **cyylinder** [cylinder], **pień** [trunk]), **-u** is the ending for words of foreign origin (**hotel**, **prezent**, **teatr**, **telefon**, **uniwersytet**). Foreign (non-Slavic) names of cities take **-u** (do Londynu, Rzymu, Sztokholmu, Waszyngtonu, Nowego Jorku, Leningradu, Pekinu); native (Slavic) names of cities take **-a** (do Krakowa, Poznania, Wrocławia, Gdańska, Brześcia, Kijowa—but also do Berlina, Paryża).

24.32 A number of additional noun classes may be recognized. The class of tools and instruments includes also vessels: **dzban** (jug), **kielich** (cup), **rondel** (pot; fleeting **e**) (but **puchar** [wineglass] has **-u**). Units of measure also take gen. sg. **-a**: **gram**, **funt** (pound), **litr**, **metr** (and their compounds, **kilogram**, etc.). Months of the year take **-a**; these are (together with the roman numerals by which they are commonly designated): I **styczeń**, II **luty** (gen. **lutego**—adj. declen.), III **marzec**, IV **kwiecień**, V **maj**, VI **czerwiec**, VII **lipiec**, VIII **sierpień**, IX **wrzesień**, X **październik**, XI **listopad**, XII **grudzień** (fleeting **e** in each case; see also 20.122). On the other hand, the (masculine) days of the week take **-u** (fleeting **e**): **poniedziałek**, **wtorek**, (**środa**), **czwartek**, **piątek**, (**sobota**), (**niedziela**).

24.33 There remain, however, a large number of inanimate masculine nouns for which the above classes and criteria are either inapplicable or else in conflict.

The fleeting-vowel criterion is relatively weak; **kruszec** (ore), **piasek** (sand), and **puder** (powder) all show fleeting vowels but take gen. sg. **-u** because they denote materials; so does **wniosek** (conclusion), owing to its abstract meaning. (However, the gen. sg. of **węgiel** [coal] is **węgla**.) Nouns in **-unek**, e.g., **gatunek** (kind), **kierunek** (direction), **pocalunek** (kiss), **szacunek** (respect), have a fleeting vowel, but the suffix is of foreign origin (cf. Ger. **-ung**) and takes gen. sg. **-u**. On the other hand, the semantic criterion is generally stronger than that of foreign origin, since foreign names for instruments may also take **-a**, e.g., **karabin**,

skalpel, rapier. In **korkociąg** (corkscrew) and **śrubokręt** (screwdriver) criteria conflict: as deverbal nouns both take **-u**, but as the name of a tool the latter also admits **-a**.*

Thus it is sometimes difficult to determine whether noun classes have been inadequately defined and criteria incorrectly weighted, or whether we are simply dealing with exceptions (**ser** [cheese], a mass noun with gen. sg. **-a**, seems to be an exception).

Exercise. Give the gen. sg. form. 1. **warunek** (condition) 2. **Montreal** 3. **ogon** (tail) 4. **cel** (goal) 5. **tłum** (crowd) 6. **śmiech** (laughter) 7. **Kalisz** (100 km SE of Poznań) 8. **gmach** (building) 9. **pędzel** (brush; fleeting **e**) 10. **czynnik** (factor) 11. **departament** 12. **kciuk** (thumb) 13. **wydział** (division) 14. **przewodnik** (guidebook) 15. **kartofel** (potato; fleeting **e**) 16. **klej** (glue) 17. **cal** (inch) 18. **scyzoryk** (pocketknife) 19. **kształt** (shape) 20. **Belgrad** 21. **dziób** (beak; 15.2) 22. **wtorek** 23. **budyń** (pudding) 24. **komputer** 25. **żagiel** (sail; fleeting **e**) 26. **plastyk** (plastic) 27. **Boston** 28. **listopad** 29. **rdzeń** (root) 30. **ból** (pain)

24.4 The adjective gen. sg. endings are **-ego** (contracted from **ojego**) for masculine and neuter and **-ej** (from **ojej**) for feminine; e.g., **do samego centrum dużego polskiego miasta** (to the very center of a large Polish city), **do tej małej polskiej wsi** (to that small Polish village), **od niego do niej** (from him to her). **Kto** has the gen. form **kogo**.

24.5 The genitive forms of the personal pronouns (the same as the accusative forms) are:

nom.	ja	ty	—	my	wy
gen.	mnie	ciebie	siebie †	nas	was

*The occasional homonym can be instructive; **drut** in the meaning "wire" (a mass noun) has gen. sg. **-u** but in the meaning "knitting needle" (a tool) has **-a**; **zamek** as an instrument for locking has gen. sg. **zamka**, but as the location capable of being locked up (a castle) has gen. sg. **zamku**.

†There are also the enclitic forms **mię**, **cię**, and **się** (also **go** for **jego**); see 27.3. **Mię** is literary.

24.60 Forms of the genitive plural. In the genitive plural form, nouns take **-ów**, which is characteristic of masculine nouns; **-i/-y**, which occurs with stems ending in a nonbasic consonant; or **Ø**, occurring with nouns which have a nonzero ending in the nom. sg. form.

24.61 -ów is the gen. pl. ending for masculine nouns with stems in a basic consonant: **stołów, panów, ptaków, psów**. This applies to masculine nouns of the 2nd declension, e.g., **kolega kolegów, dentysta dentystów** (*męczyzna mężczyzn* is an exception).

Nouns with common gender (9.1 fn.) present additional exceptions: **kaleka** (cripple) **kalek**, **sierota** (orphan) **sierot**, **śługa** (servant) **ślug**. But for the most part these nouns admit the ending **-ów** as an alternate: **beksa** (cry-baby) **beksów** or **beks**, **niedolega** (oaf) **niedolegów** or **niedoleg**. The **-ów** forms are sometimes restricted to male persons.

Among masculine nouns with nonbasic stem consonants, **-ów** occurs with nouns which take nom. pl. **-owie**: **uczniów, więźniów, zięciów**. Also with nouns in **-c** and **-dz**: **palców, chłopców, kierowców, rydźów**.^{*} Also with nouns in **-j**, e.g., **krajów, obyczajów** (customs), **strojów** (costumes), except that for **pokój** (room; peace) and **złodziej**, **-ów** is only the alternate ending (next to **pokoi, złodziei** [24.63]). It also occurs with nouns with the suffix **-icz** or the second element **-mistrz**, e.g., **paniczów** (young masters), **burmistrzów** (mayors). Most other masculine nouns in a nonbasic consonant admit **-ów** as an alternate ending: **kluczy** or **kluczków**, **lekarzy** or **lekarzów**, **bagaży** or **bagażów** (suitcases).

27.611 -ów occurs with neuter nouns in **-um** (**centrum centrów, audytorium audytoriów**) and also with **radio** (**radiów**) and **studio** (**studiów**). It occurs with augmentative masculine nouns in **-isko**: **chłopisko** (huge fellow) **chłopisków**, **psisko** (great big dog) **psisków**.

24.62 Ø is the gen. pl. ending for most neuter nouns (**pióro piór, mieszkanie mieszkań**) and for most feminine nouns which have a vowel ending in the nom. sg. (**żona żon, ciocia cioć, kawiarnia kawiarni, pani, pań**), i.e., not for 3rd-declen-

^{*}**-ów** prevents homonymy with the nom. pl. in **chłopcy, kierowcy**, etc.

sion nouns (**kość, rzecz**), which have $\emptyset$ as the nom. sg. ending. With stems in a basic consonant only $\emptyset$ occurs; with stems in a nonbasic consonant one of the other two endings is also possible.

$\emptyset$ is the gen. pl. ending for neuter nouns in *et* (**zwierzę** [animal] **zwierzęta zwierząt**—also masc. **książę książęta książąt**) and in *en* (**ramię ramiona ramion**). It occurs with most masculine nouns with *-in* in the singular (**Rosjanin Rosjan, dworzanin dworzan**). Exceptions to this rule are **Amerykanin Amerykanów, Afrykanin Afrykanów, and Meksykanin Meksykanów** and also *-in* nouns which denote adherents to a set of beliefs: **franciszkanów, luteranów, mahometanów, wegeterianów. Przyjaciół**, which also has *-e* in the nom. pl., also has $\emptyset$ in the gen. pl.: **przyjaciół**. (**Nieprzyjaciół** [enemy] has parallel forms.)

$\emptyset$ is an optional ending for feminine nouns with the suffix *ij/yj*: **stac-yj-ũ, arm-ij-ũ**. Before *ũ*, which drops, *ij/yj* does not glide (**stacyj, armij**) as it does in the nom. sg. (**stacja, armia**) (16.3). Although gen. pl. **stacyj, armij** differs in structure, as well as in spelling, from the more common gen. pl. **stacji, armii**, there is no difference in pronunciation. Therefore gen. pl. forms in *-ij* and *-yj* are limited to written Polish, where they are used to distinguish graphically between the gen. pl. form and gen. sg. (**stacji, armii**).

24.621 The $\emptyset$ ending (underlying *ũ*) conditions a number of stem changes, such as compensatory lengthening. The short nasal vowel *-ę-* shifts to *-ą-* in a handful of nouns: **księga** (tome) **ksiąg, męka** (torment) **mąk, przysięga** (oath) **przysiąg, ręka rąk**, and **święto** (holiday) **święt** (in **gęba** [mouth] and **mięso** [meat] it is optional). For *-o-*, however, the shift to *-ó-* occurs regularly in native Polish nouns with stems ending in a single voiced (non-nasal) consonant: **koło** (wheel) **kół, krowa** (cow) **krów, morze** (sea) **mórz, noga** (leg) **nóg**.

There are numerous exceptions to this rule. On the one hand **cnota** (virtue), **kopa** (three score), **robota** (work), **sobota** (Saturday), and **stopa** (foot) have voiceless stem consonants but nevertheless show *-ó-* in the gen. pl.; **komoda** and **poza** also do so although they are not native Polish. On the other hand a fair number of nouns, e.g., **jezioro** (lake) and

rzępoła (fiddler), do not show **-ó-** in the gen. pl. although they meet the stated description.

24.622 The $\emptyset$ gen. pl. ending conditions the appearance of a fleeting vowel in the stem. This occurs when the noun has a suffix containing **i** or **ü**: **książka książek, panna** (young lady) **panien, włókno** (fiber) **włókien**. It also occurs with asyllabic stems and with stems ending in consonant clusters, especially clusters ending in a sonorant. For example: **gra** (game) **gier, ćma** (moth) **ciem, pchła** (flea) **pcheł, źdźbło** (stalk) **źdźbeł, perła** (pearl) **perel, źródło** (spring) **źródeł, karczma** (inn) **karczem, sarna** (roe deer) **saren, piętro** (story, floor) **pięter**.

However, no fleeting vowel occurs in nouns ending in **-lnia** and **-rnia**: **kawiarnia kawiarni, czytelnia** (reading room) **czytelni**. For a handful of nouns in **-nia** preceded by an obstruent, there is a fleeting vowel followed by hard **n**: **kuchnia** (kitchen) **kuchen, stajnia** (stable) **stajen, studnia** (well) **studzien, suknia** (dress) **sukien, wiśnia** (cherry) **wisien** (but see also 24.63).

24.63 **-i/-y** is the only gen. pl. ending for 3rd-declension nouns (**kości, rzeczy**) and the normal ending for many other nouns with stems in a nonbasic consonant. For masculine nouns in a nonbasic consonant (other than **-c** and **-dz**), **-i/-y** is usually preferred to **-ów**: **słuchaczy** (listeners), **żołnierzy** (soldiers), **lekarzy** (physicians). For many it is the only possible ending: **braci, księży, gołębi, nauczycieli**. For 2nd-declension feminine nouns, where the **-i/-y** ending competes with $\emptyset$, the choice is sometimes influenced by phonetic considerations such as the fleeting vowel; this is decisive in **msza** (Mass) **mszy** and plays a role in **u nia sukni** (rather than **sukien**; 24.622).

For neuter nouns with the native Slavic suffix **ij** (lost by contraction: not to be confused with the **ij/yj** suffix, which glides [§16]), the expected result of contraction with a following **ü** gen. pl. ending is **-i/-y**: **predtŭ-škol-ij-e** (nursery school) → **przedszkole**, gen. pl. **predtŭ-škol-ij-ü** → **przedszkoli**. This is the regular gen. pl. form in cases where **ij** follows a noun root, e.g., **poddaszy** (garrets), **przymierzy** (alliances), **narzędzi** (tools) (exceptions: **przysłowie** [proverb] **przysłów, przedmieście**

[suburbs] **przedmieść**). Where *ij* follows a suffixal *n* or *t* (see 37.6), underlying *ij-ŭ* in the gen. pl. is lost in its entirety and only softening remains: **zdanie** (opinion) **zdań**, **pojęcie** (concept) **pojęć**.

24.631 There are several nouns with stem-final **-ąć** or **-ądz** which have **-y** and the short nasal vowel in the gen. pl.: **miesiąc** (month) **miesiące**, **miesiący**, **tysiąc** (thousand) **tysiące**, **tysięcy**, **pieniądz** (coin; pl. = money) **pieniądze**, **pieniędzy**.

24.7 Accusative plural. In nominal expressions referring to male persons, the genitive endings occur also in accusative-case constructions; thus: **Piszemy do tych młodych mężczyzn** ~ **Dobrze znamy tych młodych mężczyzn**. Note that the use of genitive forms in accusative functions has a narrower scope in the plural than in the singular, since only male persons are affected, not all masculine animates. In the singular we have **Widzę tego psa** similarly as **Widzę tego pana**, while in the plural it is **Widzę tych panów** but **Widzę te psy** like **Widzę te stoły** (see 22.0).

Exercise. Rewrite the following sentences in the plural.

1. **Mój kolega dostał małego kota.** 2. **Nasza córka kocha młodego Polaka.** 3. **Uprzejmy gość zapłacił za swój bilet.**
4. **Zdolny inżynier załatwi ważną sprawę.** 5. **Mąż poprosił żonę o szklankę herbaty.** 6. **Co powie matka, gdy zobaczy syna koszulę?** 7. **Dentysta zamówił koktajl dla kolegi.** 8. **Czeski gospodarz miał czarnego byka.** 9. **Gruby Amerykanin kupił duży samochód.** 10. **Kot patrzył na szarego gołębia.**

25.1 Locative plural. The loc. pl. ending is **-ach** for nouns and **yx** (**-ych** or **-ich**) for adjectives and pronouns. For example: **o moich córkach**, **po tych szerokich polach**.

Exercise. Give locative phrases corresponding to these goal phrases. 1. **do małych pudełek** 2. **do naszych kolegów** 3. **na lektoraty języka polskiego** 4. **do Katowic** 5. **do Aten** 6. **do Strzelców Krajeńskich** 7. **do przyjaciół**

25.11 The names of Germany, Italy, and Hungary, which are plural-only nouns (7.2), take the older loc. pl. ending **-ech**. These nouns

are irregular also in the genitive, taking $\emptyset$ rather than $-\acute{o}w$. In the nominative they take the other endings, not the male-personal endings which occur with the noun for the inhabitants of these countries. Therefore, in these three cases (also in the accusative), the name of the country contrasts with the plural noun denoting the inhabitants. Thus, *Niemcy (zachodnie [West]), do Niemiec, w Niemczech* (note palatalization of underlying *lk*) vs. *Niemcy (zachodni), dla Niemców, o Niemcach; Włochy, do Włoch, we Włoszech* vs. *Włosi, dla Włochów, o Włochach; Węgry, z Węgier, na Węgrzech* (12.111) vs. *Węgrzy, dla Węgrów, o Węgrach*. The noun for Bohemia contrasts with the plural of "Czech" only in the nom. and gen. (including acc.) forms: *Czechy, do Czech* vs. *Czesi, dla Czechów*. The locative for both is *Czechach*.

Exercise. 1. East (*wschodni*) Germans live in East Germany. 2. The two Italians left Italy and now live in Hungary. 3. These Hungarians have never been in Italy. 4. What do you know about the Czechs in Germany? 5. These Czechs went from Bohemia to West Germany.

26.1 Numeral syntax. In numeral-noun constructions the numeral may agree with the noun or it may govern it, specifically, cause it to be in the gen. pl. form. For agreement in the nominative case see 22.9. Agreement also occurs in oblique-case constructions, e.g., genitive *do trzech miast* (to three cities), locative *w pięciu miejscach* (in five places). The numerals over 4 in direct-case constructions show government: *dwa/trzy/cztery ołówki* but *pięć ołówków* and *dwie/trzy/cztery książki* but *pięć książek*. Numerals terminating in 2, 3, and 4 pattern like 2, 3, and 4: 20 *książek* but 22/23/24 *książki*. Numerals terminating in 1 show a fixed form of 1, *jeden*, and govern the genitive plural: *jedna książka* but *dwadzieścia jeden książek* (21 books). A terminal 1 has fixed form also in agreeing constructions: *w dwudziestu jeden miejscach*. When a genitive-governing numeral construction is subject of the sentence, the predicate is 3rd person neuter: *Na stole leży/leżało pięć książek*; cf. 22.9, 23.7.

Exercise. 1. There were five chairs in the room. 2. Who is sitting on those five chairs? 3. Twenty-two pencils lay on the table. 4. Twenty-five women were waiting for the bus. 5. We bought two chairs.

26.2 Numeral form. The numerals through 10 must simply be memorized. Over 10 they follow a consistent pattern, with those built on 2-4 contrasting with those built on 5-9. Numerals distinguish a direct form (nominative) and an oblique form (roughly, genitive and locative, but see 26.3), which is most often characterized by *-u*. Except for numerals with 2 (the most varied in structure), the oblique marker *-u* occurs only once in a numeral, either in the first or the second part.

2, 3, 4 have oblique forms *dwóch* (or *dwu*), *trzech*, *czterech* (see 22.9 for direct forms).

5-10 have a stem-final soft consonant and have *-u* in the oblique: 5 *pięć pięciu*, 6 *sześć sześciu*, 7 *siedem siedmiu*, 8 *osiem ośmiu* (for 7 and 8 note fleeting vowel and see 11.41), 9 *dziewięć dziewięciu*, 10 *dziesięć dziesięciu*.

11-19 consist of 1-9 plus "teen," which is *-naście* in the direct and *-nastu* in the oblique. 11 *jedenaste jedenastu* (note single *-n-*), 12 *dwanaście dwunastu* (note oblique first element), 13 *trzynaście trzynastu*, 14 *czternaście czternastu* (*czter-*, without *-y*), 15 *piętnaście piętnastu* (*pięt-* pron. "piet" before *-n-*), 16 *szesnaście szesnastu* (*szes-* for *sześć*), 17 *siedemnaście siedemnastu*, 18 *osiemnaście osiemnastu*, 19 *dziewiętnaście dziewiętnastu* (*-więt-* pron. "wiet" before *-n-*).

20-90 consist of 2-9 plus "ty," which is *-dzieści(a)* ending in a soft consonant and a vowel for 20-40 and *-dziesiąt* ending in a hard *-t* for 50-90. The oblique forms show the opposite consonant distribution, hard in 20-40 and soft in 50-90; note the *a ~ ę* alternation: 20 *dwadzieścia dwudziestu* (note matching vowels), 30 *trzydzieści trzydziestu*, 40 *czterdzieści czterdziestu*, 50 *pięćdziesiąt pięćdziesięciu* (*-ć-* not pron.), 60 *sześćdziesiąt sześćdziesięciu* (pron. without *-ć-*, "sześć-"), 70 *siedemdziesiąt siedemdziesięciu*, 80 *osiemdziesiąt osiemdziesięciu*, 90 *dziewięćdziesiąt dziewięćdziesięciu* (*-ć-* not pron.).

100 is *sto* *stu*, and 200–900 are based on it. 200, 300, 400 are *dwieście* *dwustu* (note matching vowels), *trzysta* *trzystu*, *czterysta* *czterystu* (accented on *-e-*). 500–900 consist of 5–9, in the direct or oblique form, plus *-set*, accented as two words: 500 *pięćset* *pięciuset*, 600 *sześćset* (pron. without *-ć-* or as “*szejset*”) *sześciuset*, 700 *siedemset* *siedmiuset*, 800 *osiemset* *ośmiuset*, 900 *dziewięćset* *dziewięciuset*.

1000 is *tysiąc*, a noun (24.631).

Exercise. 1. 65 persons 2. 31 days 3. 105 zlotys (p. 31 fn.) 4. 72 years (for the plural of *rok* forms of *lato* [lit. summer] are used) 5. 235 dollars (*dolar -a*) 6. after 4 hours 7. 220,000,000 (*milion -a*) 8. 12,483 9. From Warsaw to Cracow (it's) 320 kilometers (*kilometr -a*) 10. 52,000 times (*raz -u*, gen. pl. *-y*)

26.3 Numerals 5 and over with a male-personal noun always take the oblique form, even as subjects of the sentence: *Przyszło pięciu panów*. This may be viewed as an accusative of measure or quantification (cf. *masę ludzi*, 26.4), which in the case of male-personal noun phrases takes the form of the genitive; cf. *pięć kobiet*. Male-personal noun constructions with 2, 3, and 4 show the accusative of quantification optionally (obligatorily in numerals terminating in 2, 3, 4); for *Przyszli dwaj/trzej/czterej panowie* more often than not one finds *Przyszło dwóch/trzech/czterech panów*.

Exercise. 1. Fifteen Poles 2. Forty-three Americans 3. I know twelve professors. 4 One hundred men were there. 5. Thirty-one students were missing.

26.4 A number of words denoting indefinite quantities pattern like 5: *ile* *ilu* (how many), *tylę* *tylu* (so many), *wiele* *wielu* (many), *kilka* *kilku* (several [ca. 3–9])—also *kilkanaście* *kilkanastu* (ca. 13–19), *kilkadziesiąt* *kilkudziesięciu* (ca. 30–90), *kilkaset* *kilkuset* (ca. 300–900). That is, they have direct and oblique forms (*ile osób ~ ilu mężczyzn*), show agreement, not government, in oblique-case constructions

(po kilku miesiącach), and take 3rd-person neuter predicates (**Przyjdzie wielu Polaków**). The numeral category is productive in Polish. Thus, the numeral **parę paru** (a few) now has all these features and contrasts with the noun **para** (pair): **Tam leżało parę rzeczy** vs. **Tam leżała para butów, w paru miejscach** vs. **w parze butów**. Other nouns are like numerals only with regard to predicate agreement: **Tysiąc żołnierzy zginęło** (A thousand soldiers died), **Zostało tylko część mieszkańców** (Only a part of the inhabitants remained). Noun phrases with 2-4 sometimes show this agreement, especially when the predicate precedes: **Przyjdzie/Przyszło dwie/trzy/cztery osoby**. Some uses are expanding but subject to normative prohibitions, e.g., **Na rynku było masę ludzi** (with acc. of quantification; cf. **Na rynku była masa ludzi**), **w szeregu wypadkach** (in a series of cases; cf. preferred **w szeregu wypadków**). Some indefinite numerals lack oblique forms and do not occur in oblique-case constructions. Thus **Mam dużo spraw do załatwienia** (I have a lot of things to take care of) but **Myślę o wielu sprawach**.

Exercise. 1. How many students were at the lecture? 2. I know several teachers from Poland. 3. Several-score spectators (**widz**) don't have tickets. 4. After a few days the rain stopped. 5. I've never seen so many dogs.

26.5 Collective numerals. With nouns denoting mixed groups, with plural-only nouns, and with one or two other types, one uses the so-called collective numerals. Examples: **Państwo Szulc mają dwoje dzieci** (The Szulces have two children), **Do pokoju prowadzi dwoje drzwi** (The room has two doors leading into it), **Jest nas troje rodzeństwa** (I have two siblings), **W klasie było czworo uczniów** (There were four pupils in the class—boys and girls; all boys would be **czterech uczniów** or **czterej uczniowie**, all girls would be **cztery uczennice**). The collective suffix is **-oj/-ojg-** for **dw-**, **ob-** (both), and **tr-** and **-or/-org-** for higher numerals—**czworo**, **pięcioro**, **sześćcioro**, **siedmioro**, **dziesięcioro**, **kilkoro**, etc. The suffix with **-g-** occurs in oblique forms, where the ending is **-a** in genitive and **-u** in locative (and dative) (also **-iem** in instrumental). Locative and dative constructions show agreement, e.g., **o trojgu dzieciach**. Other cases show government, except that **oboje** with married

couples shows agreement, e.g., **Oboje państwo Zielińscy byli w domu** (Both of the Zielinskis were home), **Oboje rodzice urodzili się w Kielcach** (Both parents were born in Kielce).

26.6 Ordinal numerals. For 1 and 2 they are suppletive: **pierwszy, drugi**. For 3 and 4 they are formed irregularly: **trzeci, czwarty**. For 5–10 they have the stem of the corresponding cardinal except that the stem consonant is hard and the preceding vowel shows lengthening (for 6 and 7 also dispalatalization): **piąty, szósty, siódmy, ósmy, dziewiąty, dziesiąty**. For 11–90 they are formed with the hard stem, i.e., that of the oblique forms of 11–40 and of the direct forms of 50–90. For 100 it is **setny**, and for 200–900 it is this element preceded by the oblique forms of 2, 3, and 4 and the direct forms of 5–9. For 1000 it is **tysięczny**. For multidigit numerals not only is the units digit ordinal (as in English and Russian) but also the tens digit; thus “on November 22, 1963” is (**dnia**) **dwudziestego drugiego listopada tysiąc dziewięćset sześćdziesiątego trzeciego roku**. If the units and tens are both zero, the preceding nonzero place is ordinal: **w tysiąc pięćsetnym roku** (in 1500).

27.11 Uses of the dative case. Sentences in Polish may have objects which express the recipient or beneficiary of the verbal action and are in the dative case.* Thus **Dalem Stasiowi polecenie** (I gave Stan the instructions) and **Życzę pani szczęścia** (I wish you luck) besides accusative and genitive objects have the dative objects **Stasiowi** and **pani**. Verbs taking beneficiaries include verbs of giving such as **dać** (also **podać** [serve, hand over], **sprzedać** [sell], etc.), **ustąpić** (yield), **wręczyć** (hand), and **zlecić** (entrust) and verbs of communication such as **powiedzieć, obiecać** (promise), **polecić** (recommend), **pokazać** (show), **pozwolić** (allow), **przedstawić** (present), and **radzić** (advise).† Some intransitive verbs admit

*The beneficiary does not always benefit; cf. **ukraść gospodarzowi konia** (steal a horse from a farmer).

†Verbs of communication also occur with **do**, e.g., **mówić, pisać do kogoś**.

only dative objects, e.g., **pomóc** (help), **przeszkadzać** (hinder), **służyć** (serve), **towarzyszyć** (accompany), **wierzyć** (believe; cf. believe in, as in **wierzyć w Boga**), **zapobiec** (prevent). Beneficiaries may occur also without verbs: **Dzień dobry panu** (Hello [said to a man]), **Cześć ich pamięci!** (Honor to their memory!). Beneficiaries are usually animate beings. However: **Pogoda sprzyja żniwom** (The weather favors the harvest), **Jej powstanie zawdzięczamy obcym wpływom** (We credit its origin to foreign influences), **To nie ulega podatkowaniu** (That's not subject to taxation).

27.12 Dative case may also mark the experiencer of a state, expressed by a verb or other predicate word (§35). Examples: **Bardzo mi miło** (Very nice to meet you), **Jak państwu się podoba Urbana?** (How do you folks like Urbana?), **Tacie było zimno** (Dad was cold), **Pani Barbarze nic nie jest** (There's nothing the matter with Barbara), **Może ci się zdaje, że wystarczy** (Perhaps it seems to you that that will suffice). There are verbs, e.g., **podobać się**, **zdawać się**, **śnić się** (dream), which occur only with a dative experiencer, with the thing experienced in the nominative case. Others, e.g., **chcieć**, can be used either with a nominative, as in **Jacek chciał pójść na piwko** (J. wanted to go out for a beer), or with **się** and a dative, as in **Jackowi się chciało pójść na piwko** (see §35). Experiencers are normally human, e.g., **Co mu się stało?** (What happened to him?); cf. **Co się stało z moim piórem?** (What happened to [lit. with] my pen?).

27.13 Verbs with **się** cannot take accusative objects, and some of them take dative objects (cf. 23.22), e.g., **dziwić się (czemuś)** (be surprised [at something]). Several **się** verbs with **przy-** take the dative: **przypatrywać się** (observe), **przyjrzeć się** (examine; 21.341 fn.), **przysłuchiwać się** (listen to).

27.14 The dative is used in modifying sentence objects which are inalienably possessed, e.g., parts of the body. Thus, **Henryk złamał sobie ramię** (Henry broke his arm), **Spojrzałem jej w oczy** (I looked into her eyes), **Uratowałaś mi życie** (You saved my life).

27.15 Several adjectives govern the dative case. For example: **wła-**

ściwy śródmieściu ruch samochodowy (automobile traffic characteristic of downtown), **Spała, obca wszelkiej trosce** (She slept, a stranger to all care), **Mówiła z cudzą sobie manierą** (She was speaking with an uncharacteristic affectation), **Oto dziewczyna miła memu sercu** (There's a girl dear to my heart).

27.16 The dative is used colloquially with a pronoun to suggest a vague concern with the matter at hand on the part of the person referred to. Examples: **Popraw mi się** (Shape up), **Pójdę sobie** (I'll just leave), **On ci do mnie pisze** (Imagine, he writes to me!).

27.17 The use of dative with prepositions is limited. **Ku** (toward) is found in certain set expressions, like **ku mojemu zdziwieniu** (to my surprise), and **ku czci** (+ gen.) (in honor [of]) but rather than **ku Krakowowi** or **ku Krakowu** one more often hears **w stronę Krakowa** or **w kierunku Krakowa**. Several secondary prepositions take the dative, e.g., **Nic nie mam przeciw(ko) niemu** (I have nothing against him), **wbrew zasadom** (contrary to principles), **dzięki pańskiej pomocy** (thanks to your help).

27.21 **Forms of the dative.** Neuter nouns of the 1st declension take the ending **-u** in the singular: **dziecku, mieszkaniu, imieniu, zwierzęciu** (as do masc. **księciu** and plur. **państwu**). Among masculine nouns of the 1st declension there are a dozen which also take **-u**: **Bogu, panu, księdzu, ojcu, bratu, chłopu, chłopcu, psu, kotu, lwu, diabłu, and światu**. Otherwise masculine 1st-declension nouns take **-owi**: **synowi, mężowi, gościowi, Zbigniewowi**. Nouns of the 2nd and 3rd declensions have a dative singular form which is identical with the locative (§12): **lampie, książce, siostrze, pani, rzeczy, duszy, koledze, Kościuszcze**. In the plural all nouns without exception take the dative ending **-om**: **panom, paniom, lampom, rzeczom, zwierzętom**.

27.22 The adjective ending for masculine and neuter in the dative singular is **-emu** (underlying **ojemu**), which does not soften but causes fronting in stem-final velar stops: **dobremu, wielkiemu, czemu, jemu, (przeciwko) niemu**. But the dative of **kto** is **komu**. The feminine adjective ending is **-ej** (**ojej**): **dobrej, wielkiej, jej, (przeciwko) niej**. The plural adjective ending is **ym**: **dobrym, wielkim, im, (przeciwko) nim**. The numeral **2** in the dative, besides the general oblique form

dwu, has the specifically dative form **dwóm** (or **dwom**); the dative forms of **trzy** and **cztery** are **trzem**, **czterem**. Higher numerals use the oblique form in dative functions, e.g., **Pomagalem dwudziestu pięciu ludziom**.

27.23 Personal pronouns have these dative forms:

nom.	ja	ty	—	my	wy
dat.	mnie/mi	tobie/ci	sobie	nam	wam

Exercise. Switch the nominative- and dative-case expressions. 1. **Dzieci pomagały matce.** 2. **Pan Zieliński sprzedał swój samochód państwu Wilczakom.** 3. **Konstanty Baran przedstawił się Elżbiecie Romanównie.** 4. **Nowy kierownik zlecił sprawdzanie rachunków pięciu urzędnikom.** 5. **Olga i Wiktor podziękowali Marii i Wincentemu.** 6. **Starym dziadostwu nie spodobała się młoda narzeczoną (p. 31, fn.).** 7. **Kto przeszkadza pilnym studentkom?** 8. **Oni mi towarzyszą.** 9. **Nikt ci nie powie.** 10. **Wszystkim radzę iść z powrotem.**

27.3 Enclitics. **Mi** and **ci**—also **mu**, which corresponds to **jemu**—are the dative enclitics. Enclitics in general are never accented and thus never occur clause-initially, under emphasis, or with a preposition. Examples: **Wszystko mu się podoba** (He likes everything) vs. **Jemu się wszystko podoba, tobie zaś prawie nic** (He likes everything, but you hardly like anything); **Pomagam ci** (I'm helping you) vs. **Pomagam tobie i jej**; **Powiedz mi** (Tell me) vs. **Mów do mnie** (Talk to me). When several enclitics occur in the same clause, the order is: 1) accented word, 2) emphatic particles **-że**, **no**, and **-li**, 3) **by** (34.1), 4) verbal particle, 5) dative enclitic, 6) **się** and the other acc. and gen. enclitics. For example: **Dlaczegoście mi go wzięli?** (Why did you take it from me?), **Zrobił no byś mi się grzeczniejszy** (You could be a little nicer), **Cóżem ci się nagadał** (I couldn't stop talking). Among the enclitics in position 6 the order varies, e.g., **Nie bój się go** (Don't be afraid of him), **Goni go się po całym mieście** (People chase him all over town).

28.11 Uses of the instrumental case. Instrumental is the case of noun phrases expressing the instrument or means of the verbal action: **pisać ołówkiem**, **brać podstępem** (take by means of subterfuge), **dojeżdżać autobusem** (commute by bus), **wyrazić słowami** (express in words). It also marks certain expressions of circumstance, such as **trwać miesiącami** (last months), **całą nocą nie spać** (stay awake all night), **iść lasem** (go through the woods), **miejskami poniższymi** (destroyed in places), **chodzić wolnym krokiem** (walk with a slow pace), **Polak sercem** (a Pole at heart).

28.12 Verbs of controlling and governing take objects in the instrumental case. This applies to motions with parts of the body, such as **kiwać głową** (nod the head), **machać ręką** (wave the hand; and also **machać chustką** [wave a handkerchief]). It also applies to more abstract instances of controlling, e.g., **kierować sprawami biura** (direct the affairs of the office), **dysponować środkami** (have means at one's disposal), **władać językiem francuskim** (have a command of French).

28.13 Instrumental marks the cause or source of certain mental activities and states: **chelić się rodowodem** (boast of one's lineage), **brzydzić się kłamstwem** (abhor lies), **zachwycać się widokiem** (be delighted with the view), **zajmować się fizyką** (study physics). Also transitively: **zachwycać, zajmować kogoś czymś** (delight, absorb someone with something).

28.14 The instrumental case is used with prepositions in comitative and locative constructions. In the former, **z** (with) often takes the place of a conjunction: **My z Markiem byliśmy w kinie** or **Byliśmy z Markiem w kinie** (Mark and I were at the movies), **Poznaliśmy Zbyszka z żoną szereg lat temu** (We met Zbig and his wife some years ago). With other than persons we find **pić kawę z mlekiem** (drink coffee with milk), **grać na skrzypcach z zapalem** (play the violin with fervor), **zamknąć drzwi z trzaskiem** (close the door with a slam). The remaining five prepositions which take the instrumental do so only in phrases expressing location. Examples: **Przed bankiem stoi auto** (There's a car standing in front of the

bank), **Miotła stała za piecem** (The broom stood behind the stove), **Ptaki latały nad jeziorem** (The birds were flying above the lake), **Mamy pod sobą suchą ziemię** (We have dry ground under us), **Obraz wisi między oknem i drzwiami** (The picture hangs between the window and the door). When the prepositional phrase expresses the goal of motion, the accusative case is used; see 17.14.

23.15 Instrumental case marks the predicate nominative of the sentence, e.g., **Pani Jadwiga jest doświadczoną nauczycielką** (J. is an experienced teacher), **Czybyś została moją żoną?** (Would you be my wife?)* A predicate adjective on the other hand is normally nominative: **Jadwiga jest zdolna** (J. is capable), **Zrobiła się bardzo poważna** (She has become very serious). In subjectless constructions, however, a predicate adjective is in the instrumental: **Jak to dobrze być młodym** (How good it is to be young), **...gdy jest się młodym** (...when one is young; 36.4), **Będąc młodym...** (Being young...; 38.4). Nominative case in a predicate nominative is colloquial, e.g., **Ojciec jest lekarz** (His father is a doctor), **Pan jest lajdak** (You are an s. o. b.). It is also used in naming: **Jestem Adamczyk** (My name is A.), **Chłopak nazywał się Józio** (The lad was called Joey).

28.151 In many speech situations **jest** + instrumental competes with **to (jest)** + nominative. Thus, **Warszawa to jest stolica Polski** or **Warszawa jest stolicą Polski** (Warsaw is the capital of Poland). The difference between the two constructions is that **to** + nom. by equating the subject with the predicate merely assigns it to an overall categorization and thus identifies it, whereas **jest** + instr. offers a fuller characterization of the subject by ascribing to it the properties of the predicate noun. Compare **Pan Szczucki to mój przyjaciel** and **Pan Szczucki jest moim przyjacielem**: the former, appropriate for a context where little is known of Mr. S., merely classifies him as a friend; the latter assumes his identity to be known and proceeds to ascribe to him the properties of friend. Pronoun subjects take **jest** + instr., e.g., **Jest-**

*Predicate nominatives include cases like **Zosia jest najzdolniejszą z uczennic 4. klasy** (Sophie is the most capable of the fourth-grade pupils), where the predicate noun (**uczennicą**) is omitted

em obywatelem amerykańskim (I am an American citizen), not *Ja to obywatel amerykański, because the already highly specific reference of the pronoun creates the need for more detailed characterization. Compare also **Jego nieszczęście to są kobiety** (His misfortune is women) with **Jego nieszczęście jest wielkim ciężarem** (His misfortune is a great burden): the **to** + nom. predicate does no more than identify the source of the problem; the **jest** + instr. predicate offers a qualitative assessment of it.

28.21 Forms of the instrumental. Nouns of the 1st declension take the instrumental singular ending **-em**: **bratem, gościem, ptakiem, państwem, zwierzęciem**. Nouns of the 2nd and 3rd declensions take **-ą**: **siostrą, panią, rzeczą, kolegą, Kościuszką**. In the plural, nouns take the instrumental ending **-ami**, e.g., **panami, paniami, rzeczami, zwierzętami**, except for a dozen common nouns which take **-mi**: **dziećmi, ludźmi, braćmi, księżmi** (priests; princes is **książętami**), **(nie)-przyjaciółmi, końmi, gośćmi, kośćmi, liśćmi**, and **pieniędzmi**. For **-ą** the underlying representations *ojɔ* (for 2nd declen.) and *ijɔ* (for 3rd) may be useful, since they offer an explanation for the "long" nasal vowel in this ending—contrasting with the "short" **-ę** in the accusative of 2nd-declen. nouns—and are consistent with the generally longer endings of the instrumental case. But **-em** is problematical; underlying *ümü* or *ümI* would by rule 10.3 A give ***piesem** and ***senem** rather than correct **psem, snem**; therefore **-em** is perhaps contracted from *ojem*. The alternate plural ending **-mi** is also problematical; underlying *imi* does not account for the stem consonants in **przyjaciółmi** and **pieniędzmi** (cf. **braćmi** and **księżmi**).

28.22 The adjective ending for instrumental singular is **ym**: **dobrym, wielkim, czym**.^{*} For feminine it is **-ą**: **dobrą, wielką**. For plural it is **ymi**: **dobrymi, wielkimi**. Third-person pronouns are preceded by **n-** not only when used with a preposition (**z nim, przed nią, między nimi**) but in every instance: **Mamy nowego kierownika, jest nim p. Zuchwalczyk** (We have a new director; he is Mr. Z.). The instrumental forms for 2, 3, and 4 are **dwoma** (sometimes **dwiema** with feminine

^{*}This adjectival ending is identical with the loc. sg. ending, and the adjectival nouns which have **-em** in the loc. sg. form (12.31 fn.) have it also in the instr. sg. form: **z Lindem, z Goethem**.

nouns), **trzema, czterema**. For the higher numerals (including indefinite numerals) there is a specifically instrumental form in **-oma** (**pięcioma, dziesięcioma, dwunastoma**, etc.) which must be used when no noun follows with a specifically instrumental case form; in other contexts the instrumental may be expressed with the general oblique form of the numeral: **Wrócił z dwudziestu pięciu towarzyszami ~ Wrócił z dwudziestoma pięcioma**.

28.23 Personal pronouns have these instrumental forms:

nom.	ja	ty	—	my	wy
instr.	mną	tobą	sobą	nami	wami

29.1 Present tense of **być**. The 1st- and 2nd-person present forms of **być** are as given in 20.5: 1st sg. **-(e)m**, 2nd sg. **-(e)ś**, 1st pl. **-(e)śmy**, 2nd pl. **-(e)ście**, with **-e-** occurring after a consonant but not after a vowel. For example: **Ciekawam, jak to poszło** (I'm curious how it went), **Chociażeś zdrow...** (Although you're healthy...), **Gotowiśmy do wyjścia** (We're ready to leave), **Wybacz wam, boście młodzi** (She'll forgive you because you're young). Use of these verbal enclitics following the first accented word in the clause as above is colloquial and marked stylistically; their normal use is together with **jest-**: **Ciekawa jestem, Chociaż jesteś zdrow, Jesteśmy gotowi do wyjścia, Wybacz wam, bo jesteście młodzi**. The 3rd person has no personal particles; **jest** is used in the singular and **są** in the plural.

Exercise. 1. Are you my friend? 2. We are students.
3. You're a good man (**człowiek**). 4. I am an American.
5. Are you Polish?

29.2 "Should." Use of the enclitic forms of **być** without **jest-** is obligatory only with the predicate adjective **powin(n)** (should, ought), which takes the gender-number endings found in *l*-forms: masc. **ű**, fem. **a**, neut. **o**; male-pers. **i**, other **y**. Before **ű** the masc. form shows a fleeting vowel, **powinien**; the other forms have the stem **powinn-**: **powinna, powinno**,

powinni, powinny. For example: **Powinienem to zrobić, Powinnaś już iść, Dziecko powinno być posłuszne** (obedient), **Powinniście go kochać**. The past tense of these sentences is formed by introducing the agreeing *l*-form of **być** following the predicate word, e.g., **Powinienem był to zrobić**. Note that **był** etc. does not carry the verbal particle and cannot precede. Normative usage calls for disregarding the personal particles for purpose of stress placement: "po-wiń-ńe-nem," "po-wiń-ńi-śmy."

Exercise. 1. Husbands should love their wives. 2. You should stay with your friends. 3. You (fam. fem. pl.) should help your mother. 4. We had to wait for George. 5. I ought to read this novel.

29.3 A dozen adjectives have an optional zero (*ń*) ending in the masc. sg. form and in this form are limited to predicate position. Thus: **Byłem ciekaw** (I was curious), **Pański czyn jest godzien chwały** (Your deed deserves praise; fem. **godna**, neut. **godne**), **Stał ubrany i gotów do wyjścia** (He stood dressed and ready to leave; fem. **gotowa**), **Pan będzie łaskaw zamknąć drzwi za sobą** (Be so kind as to close the door behind you), **Wróciłem pełen nadziei** (I returned full of hope), **Król był pewien zwycięstwa** (The king was certain of victory), **Bądź wesół** (Be of good cheer; fem. **wesoła**), **Jestem ci winien złotówkę** (I owe you a złoty), **... pókim żyw** (... as long as I live), **Zdrów byłem** (I was well). Three other adjectives have only the *ń* masc. sg. ending and occur only predicatively: **kontent** (contented), **rad** (glad), **wart** (worthwhile). **Pewny** has the same semantic range as Eng. *certain*; cf. **Mam pewne zastrzeżenia** (I have certain reservations); the *ń* form occurs attributively in **przez pewien czas** (for a certain time) and **pewien człowiek** (a certain man; cf. **pewny człowiek** [a reliable man, a man sure of himself]).

30.1 Adverbs. Qualitative adjectives (11.31) have a related form used in construction with verbs and adjectives which is called the adverb. Examples: **dobrze śpiewa** (sings well; cf. **dobry śpiewak**), **leci wysoko** (flies high; cf. **wysoki lot**), **wyjątkowo czujny** (exceptionally sensitive; cf. **wyjątkowa czujność**). Adverbs are formed with either the suffix *e*, which softens the stem consonant, or the suffix *o*. An adverb always differs from the nom./acc. neut. sg. form, e.g., **dobrze** vs.

dobre; therefore when the stem of an adjective ends in a non-basic consonant (e.g., **głupie**), the adverb suffix is always **o** (**głupio**). Thus, **tanio** (cheap),* **świeżo** (fresh), **gorąco** (hot), **zachwycająco** (fascinating), **tajemniczo** (secretive), and so on. Adjectives with stem-final velars, which do not soften to form the adverb (cf. 12.224), likewise have adverbs in **-o**: **szybko** (fast), **długo** (long), **cicho** (quiet). For adjectives with stems ending in a basic consonant (other than a velar), the adverb suffix may be either **-o** or **-e**, and there is no general rule to predict which. Adjectives with labial stem consonants tend to favor **-o**, e.g., **słabo** (weak), **grubo** (thick), **ślepo** (blind), **łatwo** (easy), and the numerous adjectives with the suffix **ow**, such as **zawodowo** (professional), **wyjątkowo** (exceptional). However, cf. **ciekawie** (curious), **laskawie** (gracious), **uprzejmie** (polite), and adjectives with the suffix **iv**, which all take **-e**: **właściwie** (actual), **szczęśliwie** (happy), **falszywie** (false). Among adjectives with dental stem consonants, those which are primary (not suffixed) show a predominance of **-o**, thus **prosto** (straight), **pusto** (empty), **złoto** (gold), **młodo** (young), **twardo** (hard), **boso** (barefoot), **kuso** (short), **staro** (old), **choro** (sick), **wesoło** (gay), **cało** (whole), **słono** (salty), and so on. Exceptions include **dobrze**, **źle** (bad), and **mądrze** (smart). The many adjectives with the suffix **i** take **-e**, e.g., **zwykle** (usual), **stale** (constant), **ściśle** (precise), as do those with the suffix **it**, e.g., **całkowicie** (entire), **pospolicie** (common), **należycie** (suitable). But those with the suffix **at** take **-o**: **bogato** (rich), **lodowato** (icy), **kosmato** (hair-y). For the many adjectives with the suffix **in**, the more common ending is **-e**: **ładnie** (nice), **spokojnie** (peaceful), **dokładnie** (exact). Adverbs from passive participles in **-n-** also take **-e**: **zdecydowanie** (decided).

Exercise. Rewrite the following phrases as sentences, e.g., **wysoki lot samolotu** → **Samolot leci wysoko** (see 37.6).

1. **tajemnicza praca komisji** 2. **szybki bieg chłopca** 3. **we-**

*Adverb glosses uniformly omit **-ly**, which is required in some contexts.

soły śmiech dziewczynek 4. łaskawa pomoc uprzejmej sąsiadki 5. mądra odpowiedź zdolnego ucznia 6. dziwne zachowywanie się p. Łabędzkiej 7. zdecydowane zwycięstwo sojuszników 8. fałszywe cytowanie moich słów przez Ludwika 9. ślepe wykonanie rozkazów naczelnego dowództwa przez agenta 10. stałe przypatrywanie się przystojnej kelnerce

30.2 In the absence of a general rule for the distribution of **-o** and **-e**, it may be useful to observe the difference between true adverbs (manner adverbs) on the one hand and predicate words (§35) on the other, and to note that the former favor the suffix **-e**, the latter **-o**. For example: **Bardzo mi miło panią poznać** (I'm very glad to meet you) vs. **Państwo są mile widziani** (We're glad to see you), **On pewno nie przyjdzie** (He surely won't come) vs. **Łódź pewnie i zręcznie popłynęła wzdłuż wału** (The ship sailed along the embankment surely and adroitly), **Dziwno, że tu trafili** (It's strange they found their way) vs. **Dziwnie się zachowywali** (They behaved strangely), **Pokoje wyglądały smutno** (The rooms looked sad) vs. **Smutnie pokiwała głową** (She sadly nodded her head), **Zrobiło się chmurno i dżdżysto** (It became overcast and drizzly) vs. **Słuchała go surowo i chmurnie** (She listened to him sternly and gloomily) and **Okna świeciły się dżdżysto i łzawo** (The windows shone rainily and tearfully), **W dąbrowie chłodno i cienisto** (Under the oaks it is cool and shady) vs. **Zielony dąb i jesion skrywają mnie cieńście** (The green oak and ash hide me in their shade). Also for the majority of adverbs which take either **-o** or **-e** but not both, the individual choice can in some cases be related to the syntactic use. Thus **Wiedomo, że ...** (It is known that ...) shows the expected predicate-word suffix, while **świadomie** (knowingly) has the suffix of a manner adverb. Further, **trudno** (hard), **brudno** (dirty), **późno** (late), **pusto** (empty), and **mokro** (wet) are normally used as predicate words, while **chyttrze** (clever), **dokładnie** (accurate), **obecnie** (present), **otwarcie** (open), and **osobiście** (personal) occur only as manner adverbs. Violations of this distribution are quite numerous however; we find on the one hand **To dobrze** (That's good) and **Przyjemnie leżeć na słońcu** (It's pleasant to lie in the sun), **-e** adverbs used predicatively, and on the other hand **mocno ścisnąć** (squeeze hard) and **ostro krytykować** (sharply criticize), manner adverbs in **-o**. In the predicative function the adverb sometimes competes with the neut. sg. form of the adjective, e.g., **Wydaje się dziwno/dziwne** (It seems strange).

30.3 Some adjectives form adverbs by means of a preposition and an endinglike suffix. One pattern is **po** plus an adjective with the **Isk**

suffix plus -u meaning "in the ... manner" and often "in ... language": **po turecku** (in the Turkish manner [e.g., coffee], in Turkish), **po chłopsku** (like a peasant), **po polsku**. When the adjective does not contain *Isk* the suffix is -emu: **po trzeźwemu** (soberly), **po swojemu** (in one's own way), **po jakiemu** (in what language). Another adverbial pattern features the preposition **z** and an adjective stem with the suffix -a: **z lekka** (lightly), **z wysoka** (high, haughtily), **z niemiecka** (in the German manner), **z bliska** (from up close). Other adverbs are related to adjectives according to unproductive patterns, e.g., **wkrótce** (shortly), **wielce** (greatly), **wcale** (at all). Still others represent frozen variants of productive grammatical patterns, e.g., **dotychczas** (until now; cf. **do tych czasów** [up until these times]), **niechcący** (accidentally; cf. **nie chcąc** [not wanting; 38.4]). In some cases the adverb differs from the corresponding productive construction only in meaning, e.g., **z powrotem** (back; cf. **z powrotem** [with the return]), **bokiem** (askance; cf. **bokiem** [sideways]); moreover, the difference in meaning may be quite slight, e.g., **chwilami** (at times), **cwalem** (at a gallop). There are adverbs which coincide in form and meaning with prepositions, differing from the latter only by the absence or presence of a complement, e.g., **stać naprzeciw (domu)** (stand opposite [the house]). **Za** means "beyond," "for," etc. with a complement (**za rzeką, za herbatę**, etc.) but "too" without one (**za gorący** [too hot]).

31.1 Comparison. Since a quality may be present in various degrees, qualitative adjectives (11.31) participate in the expression of comparisons. For example: **Piotr jest zmęczony** (Peter is tired) ~ **Paweł jest bardziej/mniej zmęczony niż Piotr** (Paul is more/less tired than Peter; **niż** when followed by the nominative may be replaced by **od** + gen.) ~ **Jan jest najbardziej/najmniej zmęczony ze wszystkich** (J. is the most/least tired of all).

A relationship, on the other hand, either holds or it doesn't; for example, a door is either located in the rear or it isn't, and given a relational adjective as in **tylne drzwi**, one rarely has occasion to say that one door is "more rear" than some other.

One way of expressing the comparative degree is with **bardziej** (more). It is used when it is awkward or impossible to use the comparative suffix. The superlative degree is formed by prefixing **naj-** to the comparative, e.g., **najbardziej** (most).

31.2 The comparative suffix for adjectives is **-sz-**, which

after a single consonant or a cluster ending in an obstruent is preceded by a zero vowel (I). Examples: **slaby** **slabszy**, **zdrowy** **zdrowszy**, **bogaty** **bogatszy**, **gęsty** (thick) **gęstszy**, **twardy** (hard) **twardszy**, **stary** **starszy**, **tani** **tańszy**, **czerwony** (red) **czerwieńszy**, **trwały** (lasting) **trwalszy**, **długi** **dłuższy**, **dziki** (wild) **dziksz**, **cichy** **cichszy**. Root-final *k* and *x* exceptionally do not show softening before the comparative suffix. Among the adjectives which meet the conditions for forming a comparative in **-sz-**, many of the less common ones do not, and in doubtful cases Polish speakers often prefer to form the analytic comparative with **bardziej**. This applies, among others, to **chory** (sick), **kusy** (short), **łysy** (bald), **nagi** (naked), **pijany** (drunk), and **ponury** (gloomy), and to some extent to **zielony** (green), **rozmaity** (various), and **uroczysty** (solemn). Adjectives derived from participles (37.4, 38.3) express the comparative analytically, e.g., **bardziej zajęty** (busy), **zmęczony**, **zdecydowany** (decided), **interesujący** (interesting). Exceptionally, we find **gorętszy** (hotter), and **najukochańszy** (most beloved) and also (for some speakers) **zaciętszy** (more obstinate) and **zawziętszy** (more dogged). After a consonant cluster ending in a sonorant, including *v*, comparative **-sz-** is preceded by **-ej-** (*ej*). For example: **ładniejszy**, **cieplejszy** (warmer), **mądrzejszy** (smarter), **uprzejmniejszy** (more polite), **łatwiejszy**. Optional **mędrszy** is an exception. The longer suffix occurs also with nonsyllabic stems, e.g., **mniejszy** (smaller), **lżejszy** (lighter),* and optionally with **czysty** and **żółty** (yellow). Adjectives which have stem-final **-k-**, **-ok-**, or **-ek-** in the positive degree lack this element in the comparative, e.g., **szybki** **szybszy**, **głęboki** **głębszy**, **dale-**

dalszy, **miękki** **miększy**, **ciężki** **cięższy**. A root-final *s* is spe ed voiced in the comparative in **wysoki** **wyższy**, **niski** (low) **niższy**, **bliski** (close) **bliższy**.† However, there are many

*Contains the root *llg*, as does perhaps *lekki*; but *leciutki* (11.34) shows the root *lek*.

†*Niz* and *bliz* merely show assimilated spellings in *niski* and *bliski*; but *wysoki* has two roots: cf. comp. adverb *wyżej*.

less common adjectives in **-k-** which do not form the comparative with **-sz-**, e.g., **gorzki** (bitter), **śliski** (slippery).

31.3 For a few common adjectives the comparative is expressed with an entirely different stem: **dobry lepszy, zły gorszy, duży/wielki większy, mały mniejszy**.

31.4 For adverbs the comparative suffix is **-ej** (ej or jej): **slabiej, taniej, dłużej, ciszej, łatwiej, głębiej, niżej, wyżej**. As with adjectives in the comparative, **-k-**, **-ok-**, and **-ek-** do not occur, thus **szeroko szerzej, lekko lżej, daleko dalej**, except that **szybko** retains **k** and subjects it to a second degree of softening: **szybciej**. Several adverbs show iotation in the root-final consonant (reflecting the alternate suffix **jej**): **bliżej, krócej** (shorter), **niżej, płycej** (shallower), **prędzej** (faster), **wyżej**. The comparative of **miętko** is **mięcej** or **mięcejszy**; "more" is **więcej** (cf. comp. adj. stem **więk-**).

Exercise. Make comparative sentences from the following using different subjects. 1. **Witek ma słabe zdrowie.** 2. **Znalazłem długi sznurek.** 3. **Janek czyta interesujące opowiadanie.** 4. **Isia mówi głośno.** 5. **Jesteś lekko ubrana.** 6. **Wczoraj było gorąco.** 7. **To zadanie jest łatwe.** 8. **Ten uczeń mieszka blisko od szkoły.** 9. **Ci chłopcy są mądrzy (22.7)** 10. **Sypiam w małym pokoju.**

32.1 Requests. **Proszę** + infinitive is the standard way of expressing a polite request. Thus, **Proszę mówić głośniej** (Please talk louder), **Proszę usiąść** (Please be seated). For 3rd-person address the particle **niech** may also be used, e.g., **Niech pani spróbuje** (Try it), and **proszę** can be added for greater politeness: **Niech państwo proszę zaczekają** (Please wait). **Niech** (which has a longer form **niechaj**) also occurs in the meaning "let," as in **Niech to załatwi kto inny** (Let someone else take care of it), **Niech ja ją odwiozę na lotnisko** (Let me take her to the airport), **Niech żyje Polska!** (Long live Poland!). In addition there is a set of specifically imperative forms. The basic form is the singular, used in addressing

a single individual with whom one uses **ty**, e.g., **Chodź tu** (Come here). By adding the enclitic particle **-cie** we obtain a 2nd-person plural imperative, used in addressing plural individuals with whom one uses **ty**: **Idźcie** (Go). Like other **wy**-forms, this form should not be used addressing persons to whom one says **pan** or **pani**. By adding the enclitic particle **-my** we obtain a 1st-person plural inclusive imperative, e.g., **Chodźmy** (Let's go; 2.31), which may be used in addressing persons to whom one says **pan** or **pani**. Sometimes the 1st-person plural present form is used for exhortations, e.g., **zaczynamy** for **zaczynajmy** and **idziemy** for **idźmy**.

32.2 Imperative forms. The imperative ending is **i**, which either drops leaving a zero ending or is reinforced by **j** giving **-ij** or **-yj**. It is added to the present stem, being preceded by the same thematic elements that are found in present-tense forms (§18) except thematic **i**. Thus: **brać biorą bierz, jechać jadą jedź, biec biegną biegnij, łać leją lej, trzeć trą trzyj, pisać piszą pisz, kopać kopią kop** (11.41), **szeptać szepczą szepcz,* pracować pracują pracuj, siedzieć siedzą siedź, czytać czytają czytaj, szaleć szaleją szalej**. As these examples show, where there is a stem alternation within the present-tense paradigm, the imperative coincides sometimes with the stem of the 3rd plur. form (neither **czytają** nor **czytaj** show contraction), sometimes with that of the 3rd sg., since both the imperative and 3rd sg. endings are front vowels (**bierze bierz, trze trzyj, biegnie biegnij**) and in neither case is the ending preceded by thematic **i** (**siedzi siedź**). Exceptions: **mieć** and **chcieć** show the infinitive-stem thematic vowel in the imperative, **miej, chciej** (cf. **mają, chcą**), and the three verbs in 21.343, which do not show a thematic vowel in the present, show it in the imperative: **dawać dają dawaj, wstawać wstają wstawaj, przyznawać przyznają przyznawaj**. The three irregular verbs in 18.5 (**da, jęd, vęd**) take the imperative ending **j**, which conditions iotation in two of them:

*The verbs in 18.151 show only **cz** in the imperative.

daj, jedz, wiedz (also prefixed: **powiedz, odpowiedz**, etc.).

32.21 When imperative *i* is realized as zero, the verbal stem may show lengthening before a stem-final non-nasal voiced consonant (§15). For nasal vowels this occurs only exceptionally, e.g., **będzie bądź**; for **prząść** and **trząść** it is optional, and it does not occur in **pędzić** (hurry), **zaoszczędzić** (economize), **przeziębć się** (catch cold), etc. With *o* it is regular: **zrób** (do it), **módl się** (pray), **pomóż** (help), **pójrz** (look), **krój** (cut), **przysposób** (prepare), **łów** (hunt). However, for a fair number of verbs it is optional, e.g., **szkół** ~ **szkol** (school), **ślódź** ~ **śłodź** (sweeten), and for a small number of verbs it does not occur at all, e.g., **chodź**.

32.22 The imperative ending has a zero realization whenever this does not result in an unpronounceable stem-final consonant cluster.

The limit of pronounceability in an imperative form is hard to define, however, and there is much variation. First, the ending is never zero with nonsyllabic stems, e.g., **trzyj, lżyj, dmij**, and this restriction carries over to prefixed usage, e.g., **zetrzyj** (even though *zetrz is no harder to say than **patrz** [look]). Second, it is never zero when the stem ends in consonant plus thematic *n*, e.g., **zamknij, biegnij, krzyknij**, although other *Cn* stems show zero as an alternate, e.g., **wypełń** (fill it out), **(nie) bluźń** ([don't] blaspheme). Stem-final consonant plus *m* also resists zero; **zająć** and other **-jać** verbs have the longer form (**zajmij**), although **przyjm** (receive) is now accepted along with **przyjmij** and **zdejm** (take it off) is also sometimes heard. For the related verb **wziąć**, the prefixed derivatives for the most part take the longer ending, e.g., **poweźmij** (undertake), but for **wziąć** itself, in place of the older **weźmij** we now find the shorter form, with the stem-final consonants devoiced and the *m* not spelled—**węź**. In general, stems ending entirely in obstruents almost always take the zero ending: **wątp** (doubt), **gwizdź** (whistle), **powiększ** (enlarge), **(nie) mizdrz się** ([don't] make faces) (exception: **podwyższij** [raise]). On the other hand, stems ending in clusters which include sonorants tend to take the longer ending, at least as an alternate: **oznajmij** (acquaint), **uwielbij** (worship), **obejrzyj** (examine), **spóźnij się** (be late). In this regard *w* behaves somewhat like a sonorant (cf. 31.2): **unicestwij** (annihilate), **trzeźwij** (sober up), etc.; however: **załatw** (settle), **(nie) matrw się** ([don't] worry).

33 Vocative. Names and titles are often used, independently of a verb, to address persons, e.g., **Panie doktorze!** (Doctor!), **Tereniu!** (Terry!), **Chłopcy!** (Boys!). Used in this way, most nouns in the singular show a special form called the vocative. The endings of the vocative are these: *e* (which softens the stem consonant) for 1st-declension masculine nouns with basic stem consonants except velars,* e.g., **doktorze, Janie, Pawle, Stanisławie**, and *o* for 2nd-declension nouns with stems ending in a basic consonant or in *j*, e.g., **panno, Wando, Olgo, Zofio, ciotko**; otherwise, *u*: **Janku, Stanisiu, wuju** (uncle), **Wandziu, Olu, Zosiu, ciociu**. Exceptions: **Bóg Boże, syn synu**.

Exercise. Rewrite the following as direct commands, e.g., **Niech Janek to zrobi** → **Janku, zrób to**. 1. **Niech ciocia poczeka**. 2. **Niech wujek mi pomoże**. 3. **Niech Maria się nie boi**. 4. **Niech Nacia zostanie z dziećmi**. 5. **Niech tatuś się nie martwi**.

34.1 Subjunctive mood. The enclitic particle *by* marks a clause as denoting an action or state which is hypothetical, desirable, or otherwise nonfactual. For example: **Poszłabyś ze mną** (You could/might/should go with me), **Moglibyście przyjść wczas** (You could [have] come on time), **Chciałbym to najpierw przejrzeć** (I'd like to look it over first). In an independent clause the subjunctive often provides a softened version of indicative or imperative sentences; cf. **Pójdiesz ze mną, Przychońcie wczas, Chcę to najpierw przejrzeć**. *By* is followed immediately by the personal particle (if any): **bym, byś, byśmy, byście**. It occurs with the *l*-form of the verb and is written together with it: **Czy wypilabyś jeszcze herbaty?** (Would you have some more tea?). It also occurs with predicate words: **Można by jeszcze raz zadzwonić** (We could give him another ring). When it follows a particle or subordinating conjunction, it is written together with it: **Czybyś wypila jeszcze herbaty? Żebyś został na miejscu** (Please stay put),

*Nouns in *-ec* (underlying *lk*) sometimes take *e*: **ojcze, chłopcze**.

Obyś wiedziała, co ja wiem (If only you knew what I know). **By** does not affect the place of accent of the word it follows; **wypilbyś** is accented like **wypił** and **wypila** like **wypila**.

Exercise. Rewrite the following sentences in the subjunctive. 1. **Chcecie iść do kina?** 2. **Czego się boimy?** 3. **Pamiętajcie słowa ojca!** 4. **Kto nam pomoże?** 5. **Nie zwracaj na niego uwagi.**

34.2 Subjunctive clauses often occur in pairs, one expressing a hypothetical condition, the other a hypothetical consequence. The *if*-clause is introduced by **gdy** (colloquially also by **jak**), which is always followed by **by**. The *then*-clause is optionally introduced by **to**, likewise followed by **by**. For example: **Gdybyśmy mieli pieniądze, kupilibyśmy nowy samochód.** The *then*-clause may also come first: **Poszedłbym na spacer, gdyby nie padał deszcz** (I'd go for a walk if it weren't raining). The *if*-clause if negated may contain only a noun, e.g., **Gdyby nie deszcz, tobym poszedł na spacer**, or a clause in place of that noun, e.g., **Gdyby nie to, że pada deszcz, ...** (If it weren't for the fact that it's raining, ...). **Żeby** sometimes occurs in place of **gdyby**. Conditions and their consequences need not be presented as hypothetical, contrary to fact; cf. **Jeżeli przestanie padać, pójdziemy na spacer.**

Exercise. Rewrite the following as contrary to fact. 1. **Gdy przyjdzie Tadek, dowiemy się o Isi.** 2. **Jeżeli nie ma krzeseł, to możemy siedzieć na podłodze.** 3. **Jak dostaniemy zezwolenie, wyjedziemy na miesiąc do Niemiec.** 4. **Jeżeli zechcesz spróbować, będziesz zadowolona z rezultatem.** 5. **Gdy zobaczę Stasia, poproszę go o nie.**

34.3 Subjunctive mood may occur in a subordinate clause, as part of a goal constituent or governed by a verb of doubting or of volition. The goal constituent may be marked by a preposition, as in **Wlazłem na drzewo po to, aby rozejrzeć się po terenie** (I climbed the tree in order to get a look at the terrain; **dlatego** is also possible here), **Chodziło mi o to, żeby**

nikt się nie dowiedział (I was anxious that no one find out), or it may go unmarked, either by a preposition, e.g., **Wsta-pilem do domu, by wziąć teczkę** (I stopped by the house to get my briefcase), or (in the case of a verb of motion) by **by**, e.g., **Przyszedłem zobaczyć piec** (I came to see the stove). Somewhat related to goal are subjunctive clauses expressing degree or extent, e.g., **Wystarczy dwa lata rozłąki, aby stać się obcym** (Two years away is enough to make you feel like a stranger). Verbs of doubting (e.g., **wątpić** [doubt]) include also negated verbs of believing. Thus, given a verb with a content clause (33.2) as complement, e.g., **Sądzę, że masz rację** (I believe you're right), negation often conditions a subjunctive: **Nie sądzę, żebyś miał rację**. Under verbs of volition, e.g., **Chcę, żebyście nic nie mówili** (I don't want you to say anything), are included also verbs which communicate volition, e.g., **kazać** (order), **żądać** (demand), and **prosić** (request), sometimes also **powiedzieć**, **pisać**, etc.; examples: **Pro-silem, żeby pani tego nie robiła, Ojciec kazał, żeby wszyscy odeszli**. When the subject of the subordinate clause matches a noun in the superordinate clause, it may be omitted and the subordinate verb may take the infinitive form; cf. **Prosiłem panią tego nie robić, Ojciec kazał wszystkim odejść**. With verbs of wishing, this happens only when the two clauses have the same subject, thus in **Chcę zostać** and **Pani chce zostać** but not in **Chcę, żeby pani została** or in **Pani chce, żebym został** (thus there is no exact counterpart in Polish to *I want you to stay* or *You want me to stay*). The subordinate clause may also contain an *o*-impersonal: **polecenie, by nie rozmawiano przy stole** (a directive that there be no conversation at the table). **By** may be preceded by **że** or by **a**, which is slightly more literary (occasionally by both—**ażeby**), or by zero.

Exercise. Make subordinate clauses out of the parenthesized sentences. 1. **Życzę** (Ludzie dadzą mi spokój). 2. **Mama ci kupiła ciepły sweter po** (Nie będzie ci zimno). 3. **Nie myślę** (Pani potrafi). 4. **Nie jest taki głuchy** (Nie

słyszysz strzału). 5. **Mówiła bardzo cicho** (Nikt jej nie usłyszy).

35 Impersonal sentences. Sentences in Polish sometimes do not contain nominative-case expressions with which the predicate agrees. The noun phrase which would otherwise be the nominative subject may be quantified, hence in the genitive case, thus **Przybyło mi kłopotów** (My troubles increased); see also 23.7, 26.3. The potential subject may also be presented as the experiencer of a state or activity, hence in the dative case, e.g., **Nam się nie śpi** (We can't sleep), **Mnie się bardzo śpieszy** (I'm in a big hurry); see also 27.12, 36.3. There are also states and activities with no imaginable subject, for example, weather sentences like **Świta** (It's getting light) and **Grzmi** (It's thundering) and sentences expressing bodily states such as **Mdliło ją na widok** (She felt sick at the sight). Subjectless sentences may contain a variety of modal expressions with infinitival complements. These may be verbal, as in **Należało być ostrożnym** (One had to be careful) and **Nie wypadało dłużej zostać** (It would have been awkward to stay longer), or nonverbal, as in **Nie wolno chodzić po trawniku** (You mustn't walk on the grass), **Czy można wejść?** (May I come in?), **Trudno coś powiedzieć dokładnego** (It's hard to say exactly). The nonverbal predicates form the past and future tenses with **było** and **będzie**, e.g., **Trzeba będzie spróbować co innego** (We're going to have to try something else), **Nie czas już było ratować** (There was no time to try to save him). For the predicate word **brak**, as in **Brak mi ochoty** (I don't feel like it; alternatively **braknie**, **brakuje**) the past and future has verbal form, thus **Brakowało/zabrakło/zabraknie zapasów** (We were/ran/will run short of supplies). Impersonal expressions take a variety of complements besides infinitives. Examples: **W Detroit nie trudno o Polaka** (It's not hard to find a Pole in Detroit), **Szkoda było wysiłku** (It would have been a waste of effort), **Żal mu każdego grosza** (He grudges every penny), **Bardzo nam zale-**

ży na szybkiej odpowiedzi (We're very anxious to have a prompt response), **O co pani chodzi?** (What do you want?). Two common impersonal predicates have infinitive form: **Stąd go nie widać** (You can't see it from there), **Słychać było jakąś piosenkę** (Some song could be heard).

36.1 Uses of się. **Się** sometimes functions as the enclitic form of the reflexive pronoun **siebie**. For example: **Konstanty zaprosił siebie z żoną na obiad** (K. invited himself and his wife to dinner) vs. **Konstanty zaprosił się na obiad**; **Jan i Józef patrzą na siebie i nie widzą się** (here **siebie** and **się** have reciprocal meaning, "each other"), **Stefan kazał się obudzić o siódmej** (S. had himself awakened at seven).

36.2 In many occurrences, however, **się** has other functions. There are a few verbs which occur only with **się**, e.g., **bać się**, **śmiać się**, **spodziewać się** (expect), **starać się** (try). In general, verbs with **się** are intransitive (cannot take an accusative object); often they denote a psychological state or some internal or external change. Some occur primarily with **się** but can occur without **się** in causative sentences. Cf. **Dziwię się jej postępowaniu** (I'm surprised at her behavior) and **Ona mnie dziwi swoim postępowaniem**, **Cieszę się, że ...** (I'm glad that ...) and **To mnie bardzo cieszy**, **Karol zatrzymał się przed wejściem** (K. stopped in front of the entrance) and **Zatrzymałem Karola przed wejściem**. Intransitive usage is regularly distinguished from transitive by means of **się**; hence **pędzić** (hurry [intrans.] without **się**) the same as **pędzić kogoś** (hurry someone), is exceptional, as is **wrócić** (return [intrans.]). A single **się** may serve to mark more than one **się** verb in the same clause: **Staram się nie śmiać**, **Mama troszczy się i martwi** (Mother frets and worries).

36.3 **Się** sometimes marks the use of a verb with other than its normal configuration of complements. For example, in **Drzwi się otworzyły** (The door opened) and **Nowe szkoły się budują** (New schools are being built), an underlying object is realized as the grammatical subject (this is possible

only when no agent is expressed; see 37.3). In **Dobrze nam się śpiewało** (Our singing went well), **się** marks the shift from the more usual nominative realization (**My**) **śpiewaliśmy dobrze** to one in which the agent is presented as the experiencer (27.12). In **Nie znam się na językoznawstwie** (I'm not an expert on linguistics), **się** marks the elimination of the direct object (cf. **Nie znam językoznawstwa**) in favor of a prepositional phrase.

36.4 Się-impersonal. **Się** may take the place of an unspecified subject, like German *man* and French *on*. This is a convenient way to focus on the verbal action itself, as in **Na wycieczce będzie się śpiewać i grać w piłkę** (During the outing there will be singing and ball-playing—rather than **my będziemy, wy będziecie, wszyscy będą**, etc.), or on the object of the verb, as in **Jutro umyje się okna** (Tomorrow the windows will be washed). It is one of the most popular and versatile sentence types in Polish, occurring also with **być**, e.g., ... **gdy jest się żoną marynarza** (... when you're a sailor's wife), and the nonverbal predicate **powinien**, e.g., **Powinno się dbać o zdrowiu** (One ought to take care of one's health). It does not occur with verbs which take **się** normally, e.g., **śmiać się, śpieszyć się** (hurry); see 37.1. Thus a sentence with a verb (say **słyszeć**) and an object (say **piosenka**) may be realized in several ways. **Piosenka** may be made the subject and the shift may be marked with **się**: **Piosenka się słyszy**. More often, however, **piosenka** is left in the object relation and **się** is used to mark the absence of a subject, thus **Piosenkę się słyszy**. See also 37.3.

Exercise. Make sentences with the following verbs, objects, and agents. 1. **zepsuć** (ruin), **zegarek** (watch) 2. **zatrzymać**, **pociąg** (train), **maszynista** (engineer) 3. **martwić**, **troskliwa matka** (solicitous mother), **rozrzutny syn** (wasteful son; may also occur as object of **o** [concerning]) 4. **umyć**, **okna** 5. **śpieszyć**, **wy**, **nikt** 6. **tańczyć** (dance) 7. **kupować**, **jarzyny** (vegetables) 8. **czytać**, **Korzeniowski**,

cały świat (the whole world; may also occur as object of **po** [throughout]; 14.2) 9. **myć, dziecko, dziecko/matka** 10. **kazać, obudzić Janka o szóstej, Janek**

37.1 O-impersonal. Verbs in Polish have several sets of forms built on what may be called the *n/t* suffix, one of the most useful of which is the *o*-impersonal, formed with the *n/t* suffix plus **-o**. The *o*-impersonal is syntactically parallel with the *się*-impersonal: like **się**, the *n/t* suffix (plus **-o**) takes the place of an unspecified subject and precludes a nominative-case noun phrase (or an agent or experiencer in general). The two constructions differ slightly in meaning: the *się*-impersonal, although unspecified, may refer also to the speaker or addressee (e.g., ... **gdy jest się żoną marynarza**); the *o*-impersonal does not admit this interpretation. The *o*-impersonal is basically a preterite form; thus, **Mówiono o nim** is closer in meaning to **Mówiło się o nim** than to **Mówi się o nim**. However, in cases where the *się*-impersonal is impossible (e.g., with *się* verbs), the *o*-impersonal supplies the place of the latter in the present tense, e.g., **Z niego się czasem śmiano** (He was/is sometimes laughed at), **O tej porze śpieszono się do pracy** (At this hour people were/are hurrying to work). The *o*-impersonal predominates in perfective usage in the past tense. Thus we find **Powiedziano mu o tym w biurze** (They told him about it at the office), **Tę sprawę załatwiono** (This matter has been settled) rather than **Powiedziało mu się** and **Sprawę załatwiło się**. But in the future tense we find only **Tę sprawę załatwi się**, since the *o*-impersonal never occurs with a copula. In many situations calling for an impersonal sentence, one may also use a subject-predicate sentence with an unspecified or minimally specified subject: **Powiedzą mu o tym w biurze, O tej porze ludzie się śpieszą do pracy, Człowiek (or człek) musi wstawać o świcie** (A person has to get up at daybreak). The *o*-impersonal cannot be used with verbs with no imaginable agents, such as **świtać** and **grzmieć**, or with 1st-conjugation **-eć** verbs (19.21).

37.2 The n/t suffix. It has the alternate shapes *n*, *en*, *t*, and *ęt*, distributed as follows:

n with verbs specified +*a* or +*ě*, including those which have -*a*- or -*e*- only in the infinitive: *czytać czytano*, *pisać pisano*, *siedzieć siedziano*, *powiedzieć powiedziano* (*ě* dispalatalizes to -*a*- before hard *n*).

en with verbs having a root-final obstruent and no thematic vowel in the infinitive: *nieść niosę niesiono*, *tłuc tłukę tłuczono* (*en* dispalatalizes to -*on*- when *n* is hard). Also with +*i* verbs: *palić palono*, *kroić krojono*, *uczyć uczono*, *prosić proszono*, *chodzić chodzono*, *czyścić czyszczono* (+*i* verbs show thematic *i* also before *en*, where it causes iotation in the root-final consonant; cf. *proszę proszą*).*

t with verbs having a root-final sonorant consonant and no thematic vowel in the infinitive: *dać dmę dęto*, *ciąć tnę cięto*, also the verbs in 20.2, e.g., *drzeć drę darto*, except that *mleć* and *pleć* now take *en*—*mielono*, *pielono*. Also following high root vowels (*i*, *y*, *u*): *pić pito*, *myć myto*, *psuć psuto*.

ęt with +*n* verbs: *zamknąć zamknięto*, *krzyknąć krzyknięto*. Among *n*-verbs the *o*-impersonal is generally not formed from intransitive verbs, e.g., *cichnąć* (21.12). The first class of *n*-verbs mentioned in 19.4 shows variation in choice of *n/t* suffix: *ukraść ukradnę ukradziono* but *napaść napadnę napadnięto*. In general, thematic *n* is expanding, which favors the second pattern.

Exercise. Rewrite the following sentences using the *o*-impersonal. 1. *Na wycieczce wszyscy grali w piłkę.* 2. *Państwa poprosili o nie palenie.* 3. *Ktoś przyniósł dzisiejszą pocztę.* 4. *Przez dłuższy czas klienci stali w kolejce.* 5. *Ktoś mi przeszkadzał w pracy.*

37.3 Passive sentences. A sentence with an agent, a verb, and a direct object may be presented from the standpoint of

*Some noun roots used as +*i* verbs fail to show iotation: *uwięzić* (imprison *uwięziono*, *zalesić* (plant trees on) *zalesiono*, also verbs with *włos* (hair), *gałąź* (branch), and *rzęsa* (eyelash).

the direct object, with the direct object as the nominative-case subject and the agent in a prepositional phrase. Thus next to **Ministr zatwierdził ceny** (The minister approved the prices) we find also **Ceny zostały zatwierdzone przez ministra** (The prices were approved by the minister). The predicate in the passive sentence consists of the copula **zostać** and the passive participle, comprising verbal stem, n/t suffix, and adjectival ending. The copula and passive participle show agreement with the subject in number and gender. In the future tense we find **Ministr zatwierdzi ceny** and **Ceny zostaną zatwierdzone przez ministra**. In the above sentences the copula may also be **być**: **były zatwierdzone, będą zatwierdzone**. In the imperfective aspect only **być** may be used: **Jej ojca szanują wszyscy ~ Jej ojciec jest szanowany przez wszystkich**. Passive constructions are not limited to predicate position; they occur also attributively, as in ... **na temat zatwierdzonych przez ministra cen** (... regarding the prices approved by the minister). While **przez** marks the agent of the action, the instrumentality of the action is marked by the instrumental case. Cf. **Publiczność zwabił atrakcyjny tytuł ~ Publiczność została/była zwabiona atrakcyjnym tytułem** (The public was enticed by the catchy title). Agents are normally animate, instrumentalities normally inanimate, but inanimates are sometimes presented as agents and animates as instrumentalities: **Teatr był wypełniony publicznością/przez publiczność, Witek jest oczarowany przez Zośkę/Zośką** (W. is enchanted by/with Z.).

37.31 Passive sentences are somewhat less common in Polish than in English, because Polish has other means besides passivization of putting the object at the head of the sentence. Word order in Polish is in general conditioned by what is known as the topic-comment structure of the sentence. For example, if the topic of conversation is some recent agricultural loss and one wishes to comment that it was caused by pests, one could say *The loss was caused by pests*,

putting the topic first and the comment second, i.e., **Strata była spowodowana przez szkodniki**. It should be borne in mind, however, that the more flexible word order of Polish makes it possible to achieve the same topic-comment structure with an active sentence: **Stratę spowodowały szkodniki**. Similarly, an *o*-impersonal is often preferred to a passive construction: **Wybory przeprowadzono zgodnie z konstytucją** (The elections were conducted in accordance with the constitution), rather than **Wybory zostały przeprowadzone ...**

Exercise. Passivize the following sentences. 1. **Utwory Korzeniowskiego czytają po całym świecie.** 2. **Nikt go nie zauważył.** 3. **Rośliny wydzielają tlen.** 4. **Nieprzyjaciół go trafił kulą.** 5. **Chuligan uderzył turystę cegłą.** 6. **Nasz pies ugryzł córkę sąsiada.** 7. **Milicjant potrafił pieszego samochodem.** 8. **Woda zaleje pola.** 9. **Pożar zniszczył budynek.** 10. **Studenci deptają trawniki.**

37.4 Not every occurrence of a **-ny/-ty** form is related, as above, to passivization. A passive participle is used not only to present the action from the standpoint of the object but also to describe the state resulting from that action. Thus a form like **zamknięte** may simply describe (say) a window, **zamknięte okno**, with no overt reference to the action by which it came to be closed. Reference to the action is made overt by the use of an agent phrase, thus **zamknięte przez Jana okno**, or by the choice of copula, **zostało** vs. **było**. **Zostać** focuses on the process, so that **Okno zostało zamknięte** is another way of saying **Ktoś zamknął okno** or **Zamknięto okno**; **być** focuses on the resulting state, and **Okno było zamknięte** is comparable to **Okno było brudne**. Similarly in the imperfective, a form like **składany** may be used in the passive version of a sentence with the verb **składać** (fold). But in a phrase like **składane krzesło** (folding chair) it may be regarded as simply an adjective. Many common adjectives in Polish have the form of passive participles, e.g., **doświadczony** (experienced), **zajęty** (busy), **zmęczony** (tired). A

-ny/-ty form's independence of passivization is especially clear in cases, e.g., **spóźniony** (late), **uparty** (stubborn), **szalony** (mad), **uśmiechnięty** (smiling), where it relates to an intransitive verb—**spóźnić się** (be late), **uprzeć się** (resist), **szaleć** (rage), **uśmiechnąć** (smile).^{*} Finally, there are adjectives having the form of a passive participle in the absence of a corresponding verb, e.g., **utalentowany** (talented).[†]

37.5 The stem of the passive participle is on the whole the same as that of the *o*-impersonal (37.2), although the following points should be noted. Before the male-personal ending **-i** the *n/t* suffix is softened and therefore *en* does not dispalatalize to **-on-**: **zmęczony człowiek** ~ **zmęczeniu ludzie**. However, *ę* before *n* is dispalatalized also before **-i**: **niespodziany gość** (unexpected guest) ~ **niespodziani goście**. In position before softened *en* (e.g., male-personal **-eni**) *ć* and *dź* harden to **c** and **dz**: **rozwódzony mąż** (divorced husband) ~ **rozwódzeni małżeństwo** (divorced couple), **został przygnieciony** ~ **zostali przygnieceni** (got crushed). In *jęd* (eat) this change takes place before *en* throughout, not only in **zjedzeni** but also in **zjedzony**, **zjedzona**, etc. This occurs also in **bóć** (butt) **bodzony**.

37.6 Verbal nouns. Another verbal form with the *n/t* suffix is the verbal noun. The verbal noun provides a means of nominalizing a sentence, i.e., giving its verbal head the form of an abstract neuter noun so that it can function as the complement in a larger sentence. Consider **Krzyżacy monopolistycznie przywłaszczyli sobie handel gdański** (The Teutonic Knights monopolistically appropriated to themselves the Gdansk trade), and consider the need to make this clause the complement of **Mieszczanstwo uważało się najwięcej na ...** (The burghers complained most of all about ...). This could

^{*}The nonpassive (middle) use of **-ny/-ty** forms may be explained by the lack in Polish of a past active participle; **spóźniwszy się**, **uśmiechnąwszy** etc. are not participles but indeclinable adverbial forms; see 38.4.

[†]The *ę**t* suffix (37.2) represents a contamination of the *en* and *t* suffixes. This is reflected in the existence of older **-ony** forms (mostly adjectives) corresponding to verbs in **-nąć**. E.g.: **uciśniony** (oppressed) ~ **ucisnąć** (oppress), **roztargniony** (distracted) ~ **roztargnąć** (distract); the regular passive participles would be **uciśnięty**, **roztargnięty**. Cf. 37.61.

be done simply by providing a dummy object for the preposition and marking the complement clause with a subordinating conjunction: ... **użalało się najwięcej na to, że Krzyżacy** As often as not, however, the verb of the complement clause takes the form of a verbal noun and the clause is directly incorporated into the superordinate clause. Thus, **Mieszczanstwo użalało się najwięcej na monopolistyczne przywłaszczenie sobie przez Krzyżaków handlu gdańskiego**. Nominalization with the aid of a verbal noun entails several changes in addition to the change of the verb head, **przywłaszczyli** → **przywłaszczenie**. First, the accusative direct object becomes genitive: **przywłaszczyli handel** → **przywłaszczenie handlu** (cf. Eng. *appropriated the trade* → *the appropriation of the trade*). The underlying agent may also become genitive, **Krzyżacy przywłaszczyli** → **przywłaszczenie Krzyżaków** (cf. *the Knights appropriated* → *the Knights' appropriation*), except that when both agent and object are present they are differentiated, the object being marked genitive and the agent by **przez**: **przywłaszczenie handlu przez Krzyżaków** (cf. *the appropriation of the trade by the Knights*). Complements standing in other case relationships to the verb remain unchanged, e.g., dative **sobie**, also **rządzić państwem** (run the state) → **rządzenie państwem**, **zajmować się dziećmi** → **zajmowanie się dziećmi**. The adverbial modifier of the verb (**monopolistycznie przywłaszczyli**) is replaced by an agreeing adjective (**monopolistyczne przywłaszczenie**). Voice and aspect are unchanged; e.g., **powtórzyć** (repeat) has the verbal noun **powtórzenie** and **powtórzyć się** has **powtórzenie się**, and **powtarzać (się)** goes with **powtarzanie (się)**. Verbal noun constructions are somewhat more common in Polish than in English. In English it is often as easy to introduce a clause with a preposition/conjunction (e.g., *after he came*) as it is to nominalize (*after his arrival*). In Polish, *after he came* is not possible literally (**po on przyjechał*); a preposition must have an object and a clause a subordinating conjunction, thus **po tym jak on przyjechał**. On the other hand, a verbal noun is

always available to function as object of the preposition: **po jego przyjeździe** (see also 37.63).

37.61 Verbal nouns are regularly formed with the n/t suffix, a neuter noun formative *ij* (lost through contraction), and a neuter noun ending: **czytać czytanie, nieść niesienie, nosić noszenie, dąć dęcie, drzeć darcie, psuć psucie, zamknąć**. As before male-personal *-i* (32.5), *é* and *dź* harden to *c* and *dz*: **przygnieść przygniecenie, powiedzieć powiedzenie, jeść jedzenie**. The *en* suffix occurs with a few verbs where *et* is expected: **łaknąć** (hunger) **łaknienie**, **pragnąć** (desire) **pragnienie**, **westchnąć** (sigh) **westchnienie** (see 37.4 fn.). The first group of verbs mentioned in 19.4 shows vacillation in choice of n/t suffix, e.g., **zapobieżenie ~ zapobiegnięcie** (prevention). In some cases both forms occur, but the regular one is more closely tied to the verb; thus next to **cisnąć** we find **ciśnienie** (pressure) and also **ciśnięcie** (pressing); see below 37.62. The verb *jść* (go) forms its verbal noun with *t* (19.52): **iście, pójście, przejście**.

Exercise. Incorporate the parenthesized sentence into the larger sentence with the help of a verbal noun and any other necessary changes. 1. **Męczy nas** (*My stoimy w kolejce*). 2. **Zaskoczyło mnie** (*Przyszeli Stefan*). 3. **Nie szkodzi nam zdrowiu** (*Pijemy wodę z lodem*). 4. **Bardzo się cieszymy z** (*Wilczakowie znaleźli nowe mieszkanie*). 5. **Matka się martwi o** (*Syn zbytecznie przejmuje się losem drużyny*).

37.62 Nouns in *-nie/-cie* are not always abstract, representing a nominalization, as in 37.6. Occurring without *się* or sentential complements, they may show various degrees of reification, with meanings ranging from an individual occurrence of the action in question to some concrete thing resulting from it or otherwise related to it. Thus **przeżycie** denotes not only the act of experiencing but also the experience itself, **mieszkanie** denotes the fact of residing and also the residence (apartment), **zdjęcie** denotes the act of taking off

(in various senses) and also a photograph, **jedzenie** denotes eating and also food, and so on.

37.63 Although in principle any verb in Polish forms a verbal noun in **-nie/-cie**, in practice the functions of the latter are often taken over by a noun with the same verbal root but a different suffix. Thus we find **budowa** for **budowanie**, **chęć** for **chcenie**, **praca** for **pracowanie**, **prośba** for **proszenie**, **sprzedaż** for **sprzedanie** or **sprzedawanie**, **wybór** for **wybranie** or **wybieranie**, **zakup** for **zakupienie**, **zmiana** for **zmienienie** or **zmienianie**, and so on. In some contexts the two forms are used interchangeably, in others not. The first noun is more likely than the **-nie/-cie** noun to have a concrete meaning, but the **-nie/-cie** noun works better in nominalizations with sentence complements; for example, **Poprosił o zwrot książki** (He requested the return of the book) but **Poprosił o zwrócenie mu książki** (He requested that the book be returned to him). In some cases the ordinary noun is so habitual as to virtually preclude the use of the **-nie/-cie** noun. For example: **przed wyjazdem z kraju** (before leaving the country; certainly not **wyjechaniem**), **po moim powrocie do domu** (after my return home; not **wróceniu**), **przełot przez ocean** (crossing the ocean; normally not **przelecenie**).

38.1 Relative clauses. A sentence may function as attribute to a noun when it contains a matching noun which is represented by a relative pronoun. For example, **W pokoju było mnóstwo krewnych** (There were a lot of relatives in the room) is turned into a noun attribute in the sentence **Wszedłem do pokoju** (I entered the room) by replacing the matching noun **w pokoju** with the appropriate form of the relative pronoun **który**: **Wszedłem do pokoju, w którym było mnóstwo krewnych**. When the matching noun offers a comparison rather than an identity, the relative pronoun may be **jaki**. For example, the object of **Po raz pierwszy w życiu doznawałem uczuć ...** (For the first time in my life was I experiencing feelings ...) can be modified by **Takie uczucia**

wzbudzała we mnie Helena (H. aroused in me such feelings), where two sets of feelings are being compared, and the combined result is **Po raz pierwszy w życiu doznawałem uczuć, jakie we mnie wzbudzała Helena**. However, **jaki** occurs as the relative pronoun also in cases where no comparative meaning can be discerned, e.g., **istotny motyw, jaki go skłonił do usunięcia się** (the true motive which moved him to withdraw). When the matching noun is in the nominative case (also accusative if inanimate), the relative pronoun may be **co**: **mała rzeczulka, co biegła ogrodem** (the little stream which ran through the garden). Occasionally **co** is used also in oblique-case contexts in combination with **on**: **konik, com go dostał w podarunku od tatusia mego** (the horse that I got as a gift from my daddy; or ... **co go dostałem**...). The antecedent and matching noun may both be pronouns, as in **ten, kto życzy** (he who wishes), **ci, co tu byli** (those who were here), **bez tego, o czym była mowa** (without that which was the subject of conversation), **tyle, ile potrzeba** (as much as needed). When the matching noun has adverbial function in the relative clause, the relative pronoun may be adverbial: **do lasu, gdzie żyją niedźwiedzie** (into the woods where the bears live), **miejsce, gdzie droga skręca** (the place where the road turns), **lata, gdy ...** (the years when ...). A relative pronoun and copula are often omitted, particularly when the predicate contains a passive participle: **o rzeczach, które były kupione w CDT** ~ **o rzeczach kupionych w CDT**. With the relative clause reduced to only the predicate adjective, the latter shows agreement in case, number, and gender.

Exercise. Incorporate the parenthesized sentence into the larger sentence by means of a relative pronoun. 1. **Poznałem gościa** (Gość pracuje w CDT). 2. **Zosia skończyła zadanie** (Siedziała nad zadaniem dwie godziny). 3. **Chłopcy** (Chłopcy grali na boisku) **rozeszli się**. 4. **Dom** (Mieszkaliliśmy w domu przed wojną) **ocalał**. 5. **Matka martwiła się o dzieci** (Miała pięcioro dzieci)

38.2 Content clauses. A sentence which does not contain a matching noun may function as attribute to a noun when its content is semantically compatible with that noun. Examples: **przypuszczenie, że nastanie pokój** (the supposition that there will be peace), **kwestia, skąd wziąć pieniądze na kształcenie** (the issue of where to get money for education), **rozkaz, by przystąpiono do ataku** (the order to begin the attack), **Nie było wypadku, żeby Słońskiemu zabrakło słów** (There was no instance of S. being at a loss for words) (cf. 34.3). The head noun is in many cases related to a verb which can take the same clause as complement.

38.3 Active participles. When the relative pronoun is subject in a clause having the same tense as the main clause, its function can be incorporated into the verb in the form of an active participle.* Thus, next to **Kobieta, która stała na przystanku, czekała na autobus** (The woman who was standing at the bus stop was waiting for a bus), we find also **Kobieta stojąca na przystanku czekała na autobus**. Active participles are more characteristic of written than of colloquial Polish. Like any adjective, an active participle agrees with the noun it modifies in case, number, and gender. Whereas in ... **z chłopcami, którzy grają w piłkę** (with the boys who are playing ball) the relative pronoun **którzy** as subject of its clause is nominative regardless of the form of its antecedent, an active participle in place of **którzy grają** must show agreement: ... **z chłopcami grającymi w piłkę**. The stem of the active participle is identical with the 3rd person plural form plus **-c-**: **stać stoją stojąc-, iść idą idąc-, prosić proszą prosząc-**. The active participle of **być** is **będący**. Active participles are only imperfective; we find **kupujący** but no ***kupiący, robiący** but no ***zrobiący**.

Exercise. Incorporate the parenthesized sentence into the

*Present active participle is redundant because there is no past active participle (cf. 38.4). Similarly the n/t participle cannot be considered a past passive participle in the absence of a present passive participle.

larger sentence using an active participle. 1. **Podeszliśmy do dziewczynek** (Dziewczynki rozmawiały między sobą). 2. **Sędzia przypatruje się obrazowi** (Obraz wisi przy wejściu). 3. **Poznaliśmy turystów** (Turyści wybierali się nad morze). 4. **Obiecał się ożenić** (Matka umierała) matce. 5. **Nie zdążył porozmawiać z żoną** (Żona śpieszyła się do miasta).

38.4 Adverbial clauses and gerund phrases. A clause may be subordinated to a main clause using a variety of subordinating conjunctions, expressing condition (**jeżeli**), cause (**bo, ponieważ**), concession (**choć**), time (**gdy**), and so forth. For example: **Jeżeli spotkam Danutę w mieście ...** (If I bump into D. in town ...), **... ponieważ chcemy uniknąć nieporozumienia** (... since we wish to avoid misunderstanding), **Choć jesteśmy bardzo zajęci ...** (Although we are very busy ...), **Gdy ujrzałem Witolda ...** (When I caught sight of W. ...). It is possible to express many of these meanings, although less specifically, reducing the subordinate clause to a verb phrase headed by a special participial form called a gerund.* One condition for the reduction is the identity of subjects in the two clauses. Thus, **Napišemy polecenie po polsku ponieważ chcemy uniknąć nieporozumienia** (We'll write the instructions in Polish since we wish ...) may be expressed also as **Napišemy polecenie po polsku, chcąc uniknąć nieporozumienia**. But this gerund phrase cannot be used with the main clause **Polecenie będzie napisane po polsku ...** (cf. the dangling participle **The Instructions will be written in Polish, wishing to avoid a misunderstanding*). Gerund phrases are often used with no particular meaning, simply to express an accompanying action: **Studenci wyszli z sali cicho rozmawiając między sobą** (The students left the hall quietly convers-

*Since the term gerund is sometimes applied to the verbal noun in **-nie/-cie**, some authorities prefer the term verbal adverb. In Polish they are called the contemporaneous indeclinable (or adverbial) participle and the anterior indeclinable (or adverbial) participle.

ing among themselves). There are two gerunds. One is only imperfective and expresses an action contemporaneous with the action of the main verb; it is identical in form with the stem of the active participle: **stać stoją stojąc, iść idą idąc, prosić proszą prosząc**. The other is only perfective and expresses an action completed prior to the action of the main verb; it is formed from the stem of the masc. sg. *l*-form with the suffix **-wszy** after a vowel and **-wszy** after a consonant (see 4.13): **dostać dostał dostawszy, wejść wszedł wszedłszy, wynieść wyniósł wyniósłszy**.*

ę* dispalatalizes before **-wszy as before **-ł**: **powiedzieć powiedział powiedziałszy**.

Sources of Information on Polish

THE ACADEMY dictionary is **Słownik Języka Polskiego**, ed. W. Doroszewski, 11 volumes (Warsaw: PWN, 1958-69). The essential orthographic and morphological information about Polish words, including proper names, is conveniently provided in **Słownik Ortograficzny Języka Polskiego**, ed. M. Szymczak (Warsaw: PWN, 1975). More detailed information with normative recommendations is found in **Słownik Poprawnej Polszczyzny PWN**, ed. W. Doroszewski and Halina Kurkowska (Warsaw, 1977). Normative usage is also discussed in **Kultura Języka Polskiego**, by Danuta Buttler, Halina Kurkowska, and Halina Satkiewicz (Warsaw: PWN, 1971). There are two Polish-English dictionaries, Jan Stanisławski's **Wielki Słownik Polsko-Angielski**, ed. Wiktor Jassem, 2 volumes, 4th ed. (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1978), and **The Kościuszko Foundation Dictionary**, volume 2, by Kazimierz Bulas, Lawrence L. Thomas, and Francis J. Whitfield (The Hague: Mouton, 1961). A new Academy grammar has been in preparation for several years; the old **Gramatyka Języka Polskiego** by Tytus Benni, Jan Łoś, Kazimierz Nitsch, Jan Rozwadowski, and Henryk Ułaszyn (Cracow, 1923) is still of value. For the development of Polish in the light of philological and dialect studies, see Zdzisław Stieber, **A Historical Phonology of the Polish Language** (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1973). Etienne Decaux, **Leçons de grammaire polonaise**, fascicles 1-4, 4th ed. (Paris: Institut d'études slaves, 1978) is a detailed description of Polish phonetics and morphology. See also Alexander M. Schenker, **Polish Declension: A Descriptive Analysis** (The Hague: Mou-

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afrykański African
angielski English
aniele angel (loc.)
anielski angelic
aniola angel (gen.)
asocjacyjny associational
Azja Asia
badam -ać investigate
baterijka battery (dim.)
Belgrad -u Belgrade
będzie będą will be
biały white
biblijny Biblical
biegaliśmy we ran
biegnę biec biegliśmy run
biel white
bierzemy biorą brać take
biję bić beat
biologia biology
bledli bladły turned pale
błysnąć błyskać błyszczeć flash
boczny side
bodzie bodą bóść butts
boisko playing field
boję boi bać się fear
boleję boleć grieve
boski divine
Boston -u Boston
bódi bodła butted
Bóg God
ból -u pain
braknąć be lacking
brazylijski Brazilian
brzoza birch

buchnąć buchać burst
buduję budować build
budynek building
budyń -niu pudding
byk bull
cal -a inch
cegla brick
chadzaliśmy we would go
chcieli chcieli wanted
chłosczyć chłostać flog
chodzę I go
choruję chorować be sick
chowam -ać put away, hide
chuligan hood
chwije chwiać sway
chwycić; chwytąć grab
ciągnąć -nął -ęła pull
ciął cięła cut
ciekawy curious
ciesielstwo carpentry
ciesiołka carpentry
cieszę/cioszę ciosać hew
ciocia aunt (dim.)
cios blow
ciotka aunt
cisnąć; ciskać throw
cofnąć; cofać draw back
córa daughter (aug.)
córeczka daughter (dim.)
cuchnąć smell
cudze other's (neut.)
czekam -ać wait
czerpię -ać draw
Czesio Chester

czeszę cesać comb
czuję czuć feel
czyjś someone's
czynnik -a factor
czyści czyszczyć clean
dać **dam** **dadzą**; **dawać** **dają** give
daszek roof (dim.)
dąb oak
dał **dęła** blew
departament -u department
depc(z)ę deptać trample
dębie oak (loc.)
diabeł devil
dłubię **dłubać** dig, scrape
dmie **dma** **dać** blow
dobrzmieć -mi; **-miewać** cease
 rumbling
domek house (dim.)
dopinguje -gować cheer, encourage
dowiedzieć się find out
dowieźć -wiozę -wiezie; **-wozić**
 convey (as far as)
dowództwo command
drapie **drapać** scratch
drgnąć **drgać** **drżeć** flinch
drożeje grows expensive
drużyna team
drze **dra** **drzeć** tear
drzewko tree (dim.)
dwór yard
dziadek grandfather
dziadostwo grandparents
działam -ać act
dzieją **dziać** się happen
dziób **dzioba** beak
dźwignąć **dźwigać** raise
Edzio Eddy
Fredzio Freddy
frunąć; **fruć** flutter, fly
garnąć hug; gather
gasnąć be extinguished
geniusz genius
gęba mouth

gęś goose
gimnazjum secondary school
ginać perish
głaszczę **głaskać** stroke
gmach -u building
gniecie **gną** **giąć** bend
gniecie **gniotą** **gnieść** knead
gołąb pigeon
gotuje **gotować** prepare, cook
gram **grają** **grać** play
grób grave
gruchnąć; **gruchać** coo
grywalem I used to play
grzebię **grzebać** rummage
grzeje **grzać** heat
Grześ Greg
grzęzli **grzęzły** got stuck
gryzie **gryzą** **gryźć** bite
gwizdę **gwizdać** whistle
idziesz **idą** **iść** be going
iluzje illusions
indonezyjski Indonesian
intryżka intrigue (dim.)
istnieję **istnieć** exist
jabłonka apple tree (dim.)
Jadzia Heddy
jedziemy **jadą** **jechać** be driving
jem **je** **jedzą** **jedli** **jadły** eat
jeździ **jeżdżą** **jeździć** ride
jęknąć; **jęczeć** moan
Kalisz -a city in central Poland
Kalifornii California (loc.)
Kalifornijka Californian (fem.)
kanadyjski Canadian
kartofel -ła potato
karzę **karać** punish
Kasia Kate
każę **kazać** command
kąpie **kapać** bathe
kciuk -a thumb
kelnerka waitress
kempinguje -gować camp
kichnąć **kichać** sneeze

klej -u glue	łamię łamać break
kleknąć; klękać klęczeć kneel	łapie łapać catch
kleśnąć subside	łódź ship
klient customer	łżę łąć tell lies
klinie kina kląć curse	machnąć machać wave
kladziesz kładą kłaść put	Małgosia Peggy
kłamię kłamać tell lies	mam mają mieć have
kobiece woman's (neut.)	martwić się worry
kocham kochają kochać love	Marysia Mary
kocie cat's (neut.)	marznąć freeze
kolejka queue	mazę mazać smear
kolonijka colony (dim.)	mąż husband
kołacze kołatać pound	mdleję mdleć faint
komputer -a computer	melodyjny melodious
kopie kopać dig	męczyć tire
kopii copy (loc.)	męski masculine
kościelny church (adj.)	męża husband (gen.)
kradnę kraść steal	miele miele mleć grind
Krysia Chris	mieli miały had
krzyknąć krzyczeć shout	mierzchnąć grow dark
książ tomes (gen.)	mieszkam -ać live (dwell)
księgi tome (gen.)	mietli miotły swept
kształt -u shape	minąć; mijać pass
kula bullet	miód honey
kupiliśmy we bought	misa bowl (aug.)
kupuję -ować buy	miseczka bowl (dim.)
kwitnąć bloom	misjonarz misjonary
lampka lamp (dim.)	mleczko milk (dim.)
las forest	Montreal -u Montreal
lasek forest (dim.)	możecie mogą móc can
legnę lec fall	mógł mogła could
lesie forest (loc.)	mój my (masc. nom. sg.)
leśny forest (adj.)	mówi mówią mówić speak
lezie leżą leźć crawl	móżdżek brain (dim.)
leźć lazić crawl	muszka fly (dim.)
łgnąć sink	myję myć wash
linijka ruler	myśli myślą myśleć think
listonosz letter carrier	Nacia Nat
listopad -a November	naczelný high
liżę lizać lick	narzeczona fiancée
los fate	nawlec -wlokę -wlecze; -wlekać
lot flight	thread
ładnieje grows prettier	nazwać -zwe -zwie; -zywać name

niesie niosę nieść be carrying	pamiętam -a ja -ać remember
nieśli niosły were carrying	panuję -ować be master
nieśliśmy we were carrying	partyjny party (adj.)
niósł niosła was carrying	paryski Parisian
niknąć disappear	pasie pasą paść graze
nosi noszą nosić carry, wear	pchnąć pchać shove
nowicjusz novice	pędzel -dzia brush
nóż knife	piasek sand
obełgać -lę/-lgam; -łgiwać lie to	piecze pieką piec bake
obiad dinner	pieszy pedestrian
obećcać promise	pieją piąć crow
obiedzie dinner (loc.)	piełę piele pleć weed
obsłużyć; -sługiwać -uję serve	pierze piorą prać launder
ocaleć survive	piętro story (of building)
oczekiwać -uję await	pijamy we drink
odbudować -duję; -dowywać -do- wuję rebuild	piję pić drink
odczuć -czuję; -czuwać feel	pilnuję -ować take care of
odechcieć -chcę; -chciewać cease wishing	pilny studious
odkręcić; -kręcać unscrew	pisnąć piszczeć squeal
odmówić; -mawiać decline	plastyk -u plastic
odpocząć -cznę; -czywać rest	placę plątać tangle, confuse
odpowiedzieć -wiem -wiedzą; -wia- dać answer	placi placą płacić pay
ofiarowała offered	placę plakać cry
ogon -a tail	plonąć flame
ogród garden	plynie sails
ogrzeję -grzać; -grzewać warm	pnie pną piąć się climb
okazyjny occasional	podejrzeć -rzę; -rzewać suspect
olimpijski Olympic	podesłać podścieleć -le; -ścielać spread
operuję -rować operate on	podkupić; -ywać -uję underbid
opisać -piszę; -pisywać -suję de- scribe	podskoczyć; -skakiwać -uję jump up
opowiadanie story	podstrzygę -yżę -yc; -ygać trim
orzę orać plow	podziękować thank
otwierać open	poleję -lać; -lewać water
otrzymam -ać; -mywać -muję re- ceive	połapię -ać; -pywać -puję catch
owoc fruit	pomogę -może -móc; -magać help
ożenić się take a wife	popękały burst
padnę paść fall	popiół ash
palenie smoking	porcjałka portion (dim.)
	posłać -śle -śle; -sylać send
	potop deluge
	potrącić bump

powtórzyć; -wtarzać repeat
 powylał wiał broke
 powypuszczam I'll let out
 pozabijali killed
 pozbialiśmy we gathered up
 poziom level
 pożar fire
 proch powder
 przedłużyć; -dłużać extend
 przedzie/przodzie front (loc.)
 przekażę -kazać; -kazywać -zuje
 transmit
 przemy prą przed press forward
 przestrzegę -że -ec; -egać warn
 przeszkodzić; -szkadzać hinder
 przewidzieć -dzi; -dywać -uję fore-
 see
 przewodnik -a guidebook
 przedzie przędą prząść spin
 przodu front (gen.)
 przyjaciółach friends (loc.)
 przypatrywanie się scrutiny
 przysięgnę -siać/-sięgnąć swear
 przystojny attractive
 przyznam -ać; -znawać -aję admit
 psie dog's (neut.)
 psuję psuć ruin
 "pszy-ńu-zem" I brought it
 puchnąć swell
 pudeleczo box (dim.)
 pudło box (aug.)
 rachunek account
 radyjko radio (dim.)
 radzić advise
 ranić wound
 rąbię rąbać chop
 rdzeń -nia core
 religijny religious
 rewolucyjny revolutionary
 rezygnuję -ować resign
 robi robią robić do, make
 rosnąć grow
 rosnę rósł/rosnąć grow

rosyjski Russian
 roślina plant
 rozerwę -wie -wać; -rywać tear up
 rozejść się disperse
 rozgniotę -gniecie -gnieść; -gnia-
 tać crush
 rozkaz order
 rozpatryć; -trywać -uję examine
 rozstrzelić; -liwać -uję space out
 rozumiem -eja -eć understand
 Róża Rosie
 różdżka switch (dim.)
 ruszę I'll move
 rwie rwa rwać tear
 ryknąć; ryczeć roar
 Rysio Dick
 rzadki rare
 rzeknę rzec utter
 rzeszoto sieve
 rzucić; rzucać throw
 szczyryk -a pocketknife
 sędzia judge
 siadywała used to sit down
 siano hay (dim.)
 siadziemy siada siąść sit down
 siedli siadły sat down
 siedzi -dzą -dzieć sit
 siejemy siał sow
 siostra sister
 siwieje grows gray
 słucham -ać listen to, obey
 słynąć be famous
 skoczyć; skakać skacze jump
 smakuje -ować taste
 sojusznik ally
 spaceruję -ować stroll
 spodobać się like
 spotkam -ać; spotykać meet
 sprawdzanie verification
 sprzątam -ać sweep
 sprzedam -dadzą -dać; -dawać
 -dają sell
 stacyjny station (adj.)

stał Stan	tonał tonęła drowned
stanę stać; stawać staje się get	trafi will find the way
stały constant	trawnik lawn
stoje stoi stać stand	trąbka trumpet (dim.)
stosuję -ować employ	trząsł trzęsła shook
straszny fearsome	trze trą trzeć rub
strzęż strugać whittle	trzepoc(z)ę trzepotać flutter
strzał shot	trzęsiemy trzęsą trząść shake
strzeże strzegą strzec guard	trzód flocks (gen.)
strzyże strzygą strzyc cut	trzymam -ać hold
studencki student (adj.)	ubiór costume
studia studies	ubrany dressed
studiuję -ować study	uczy uczą uczyć teach
stygnąć cool	umiem umieją umieć know how
sypiam I sleep	uprzejmy polite
sypię sypać pour	urzędnik clerk
szaleję -eć rage, be delirious	ustąpić; ustępować -uję yield
szczać szczy urinate (vulg.)	utwór work
szli szły were going	użyć użyję; używać use
sznurek cord	waliza suitcase (aug.)
szpinaczek spinach (dim.)	walizeczka suitcase (dim.)
szukam -ać seek	wejść -jdę; wchodzić enter
szumi roars	warunek -nku condition
szwedzki Swedish	weźmie wezmą wziąć take
szyję szyć sew	wiara faith
ściele ślać spread	wiary faith (gen.)
śle ślać send	wiązać bind
śmiech -u laughter	Wicia Vicky
śmiejemy śmiać się laugh	widzi widzą widzieć see
śmiem śmieją śmieć dare	widzieli widziały saw
śnieżek snow (dim.)	wieczór evening
śpieszyć się hurry	wiedli wiodły led
śrubka screw (dim.)	wiedziesz wiodą wieść lead
Tadzio Tad	wiem wiedzą wiedzieć know
tchnąć breathe	wierze faith (loc.)
terytorium territory	wierzy believes
tknąć; tkać touch	wiezie wiozą wieźć convey
tleją tleć smolder	wieźli wiozły conveyed
tlen oxygen	wieźnąć fade
tlucze tłuką tłuc break	wiódł wiodła led
tłum -u crowd	wiózł wiozła conveyed
tnie tną ciąć cut	wlecze wloką wlec drag
tonąć drown	Władzio Vlad

- włóczyć drag
 wołam -ać call
 woreczek bag (dim.)
 worek bag
 woszczek wax (dim.)
 wór bag (aug.)
 wóz car
 wpadnę -paść; -padać fall/drop in
 wprowadzić; -dzać lead in
 wrócić I'll return
 wrócić; wracać return
 wrzasnąć; wrzeszczeć scream
 wrzód ulcer
 wstanę wstać; -wstawać -aję get up
 wtorek -rku Tuesday
 wujek uncle (dim.)
 wybierać się prepare to go
 wybiorę -bierze -brać; -bierać pick
 wydział -u division
 wydzielać give off
 wykonanie execution
 wylezę -lezie -leźć; -łazić crawl out
 wynajmę -jąć; -jmować -uję rent
 wynajdę -leźć; -jdować/-ywać -uję discover
 wysiadę -siaść -siadł -siedli; -sia- dać get off
 wysiedzieć; -siadywać -uję sit out
 wysłucham -ać; -chiwać -uję hear out
 wyszukam -ać; -kiwać -kuję seek out
 wywołam -ać; -ływać -uję call out
 zabiję -bić; -bijać kill
 zacząć -czną -cząć begin
 zadowolony satisfied
 załatwić; -wiać settle
 zaigać -lżę/-lżam; -lżiwać -lżuję misrepresent
 zamknąć; zamykać close
 zapomnieć -mnę -mni; -mniać forget
 zaprosić; -praszać invite
 zaprzęgnać -prząc harness
 zarobić; -rabiać earn
 zaskoczyć surprise
 zauważyć notice
 zawiodę -wiedzie -wieść; -wodzić deceive
 zawinać; -wijać wrap
 ząbek tooth (dim.)
 zbytecznie overly
 zetnę -trze -trzeć, start; ścierać rub off
 zezwolenie permission
 zdążyć have time
 zgrzytnąć; -tać rasp
 ziejiesz ziać breathe
 zieleń verdure
 zielony green
 ziębnać be chilled
 zlecić delegate
 zmieścić; zmieszczać się fit
 zniszczyć destroy
 Zosia Sophy
 z powrotem back
 Zuzia Suzy
 zwierzęce animal's (neut.)
 zwracać uwagę pay attention
 zwycięstwo victory
 Zygmus Ziggy
 zyszczek profit (dim.)
 żagiel -gla sail
 żyję żyć live
 żuję żuć chew
 żniemy żną żąć reap